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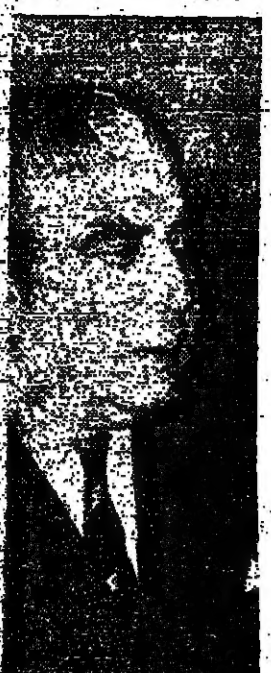
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Interview With Yahya Khan

Indians are already at war with us... we are not hitting back. I hope to God it doesn't spread.

Arnaud de Borchgrave, Newsweek senior editor, interviewed President Yahya Khan of Pakistan last week in Islamabad. This is the text of the copyright interview, which appears in the issue of Newsweek out today.



Q: How close are you to India to war today?
A: I have no reason to believe that war is imminent. India is already at war with us and the only reason is that we are not hitting back. I hope to God it doesn't spread. Can you imagine a situation where India is at war with us and the only reason is that we are not hitting back? We are still exercising restraint despite provocation. Indians are from 150 to 3,000 artillery shells across East's borders every 24 hours. This week they fired 500 shells in one day—25-pound field guns and 82 mortars. We have mobilized many 800 reservists. Have you? We have been alerted and reserve officers called back. But are the factors in favor of military action?
A: Because I don't want to escalate.
Q: And what are the factors militating against war?
A: I'm doing my best to defuse the situation. I have repeatedly accepted U. Thant's proposals for international observers to observe anything they wish, including the fact that we are receiving refugees who come back.
Q: How long can you put up with infiltration from India's

the picture. When Delhi says they are retired officers you know what that means. Third, the massive concentration of Indian troops around East Pakistan's borders. Eight divisions, including two divisions withdrawn from the five they had facing the Chinese. Massive concentration on our western borders, too—12 to 13 divisions, including four in Kashmir all deployed in battle positions. Civilian populations have been evacuated from their border areas. Their defense minister is threatening us every day.

Troops Advance
Q: Aren't you deployed in battle positions too?
A: Our troops have moved out of their cantonments and barracks and have moved forward. But they are not in battle positions.
Q: Why not?
A: Because I don't want to escalate.
Q: And what are the factors militating against war?
A: I'm doing my best to defuse the situation. I have repeatedly accepted U. Thant's proposals for international observers to observe anything they wish, including the fact that we are receiving refugees who come back.
Q: How long can you put up with infiltration from India's



CEREMONY—South Vietnamese President Nguyen Van Thieu lights ceremonial flame at his inauguration in Saigon yesterday beginning his second four-year term.

Sees 'New Dawn of Sunshine'

Thieu Is Inaugurated for 2d Term

By Peter Osnos
SAIGON, Oct. 31 (WP).—Nguyen Van Thieu was sworn in for a second term as South Vietnamese president today and pledged to "restore peace, achieve democracy and economic prosperity."

In a 23-minute inaugural address, Mr. Thieu asserted that he had kept the major promise of his first term—to prevent a military victory by the Communists—and "now a new dawn of sunshine has shone over the country."

He repeated past proposals for negotiations with the North Vietnamese and called again for an immediate cease-fire throughout South Vietnam. But he repeated also that there would be no surrender to the Communists.

Observers saw nothing new in the speech, although it was slightly softer in tone than some he delivered before his unopposed re-election, Oct. 3.

The ceremony, which began shortly before 9 a.m. on a flag-draped platform constructed in one of downtown Saigon's main intersections, was watched by government officials, soldiers and delegations from the countryside along with invited representatives from 30 countries.

Treasury Secretary John B. Connally and Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker headed the U.S. contingent.



Minimize the possibility of any disruption, the public was barred from the vicinity and thousands of military and civilian police lined the streets and camped in apartments and office buildings while helicopters circled overhead.

For several weeks, police had been conducting a round-the-clock, house-by-house search of the area and residents were warned that anyone appearing at their window during the ceremony would be shot.

In all, some 50,000 troops and police were deployed around Saigon. (Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

3 More Are Dead in Ulster; 2 of Wounds, One 'Executed'
BELFAST, Oct. 31 (UPI).—Violence in Northern Ireland added three more names to its growing death toll, and British troops clashed with rioters in Londonderry today. More bombs exploded across the embattled province.

The three deaths included a young man police said had been bound and gagged and shot to death and a soldier and a civilian wounded earlier in fighting between troops and snipers.

An army spokesman said soldiers used CS gas and rubber bullets to drive back rioters in three separate parts of Londonderry. The incidents were triggered by youths hurling bricks at soldiers, the spokesman said.

IRA Deplores Blasts
In Dublin, Thomas McGiolla, president of the more moderate official wing of the IRA, deplored the bombings in Northern Ireland. "The Protestant and Catholic communities have been driven apart by widespread sectarian bombings, mostly from the Catholic side, during the past year," he said.

Mr. McGiolla asserted the British government plans to turn two of Northern Ireland's six counties over to the Irish Republic. The plan envisages "redrawing the boundary and creating a wholly Protestant enclave within a radius of approximately 35 miles from Belfast," he said.

By Decision on Alphabetical Order China Passes Up UN Council Helm

UNITED NATIONS, N.Y., Oct. 31.—Peking today passed the chance of presiding over the Security Council next year as it takes its place in the alphabetical rotation.

Secretary-General U. Thant said that China, to be listed under the "C" in the General Assembly and the Security Council, had chosen to be listed under the letter "P" as the People's Republic of China, instead of taking over the helm of the Security Council tomorrow under the system of alphabetical rotation.

with regard to the alphabetical order of the name of the People's Republic of China, please have it listed with the English letter "C" at the beginning, that is, China, People's Republic of. Highest consideration.

Slide Kills Romanians OreComplex

BUCHAREST, Oct. 31 (AP).—At least 40 people were killed and 100 injured yesterday when a huge slide fell off by the shift of stone rubble, destroyed 10 units and administrative buildings near the Romanian processing plant of the J-Sacarb metalurgical.



official Romanian news agencies reported the slide but failed to give details. It was believed a slope, pressure from an ore-waste suddenly gave way in the morning hours, when miners and administrative staff were still in their mining center is located in the northwestern of Bucharest. The slide buried under the debris of the local population in danger, was evacuated.

Bomb Rocks 620-Foot Tower Of Post Office in London

LONDON, Oct. 31 (AP).—A giant explosion early today blasted a gaping hole near the top of London's 620-foot Post Office Tower—seven hours after a tip that a bomb had been planted was dismissed as a hoax.

Scotland Yard detectives said they were investigating a later anonymous call from a man speaking in an Irish accent purporting to represent the outlawed Irish Republican Army who claimed the IRA carried out the bombing and warned more bombings would follow.

The bomb bang at 4:30 a.m. woke thousands of Londoners and set off some alarms—both among police and others—when word spread that the tower was hit. There were no casualties, although there were about 250 employees in the tower at that time.

Close-up view of section of the tower ripped by blast.



The tower is packed with trunk telephone exchange microwave equipment and wavelengths for television channels.

The center of the explosion was pinpointed on the 31st floor, which houses a spacious public restaurant and cocktail lounge that closed just before 1 a.m. The viewing platform open to sight-seers closed at 9:30 p.m.

Nixon Is Seeking A Stopgap Plan For Foreign Aid

By Felix Belair Jr.
WASHINGTON, Oct. 31 (NYT).—The administration took steps yesterday to assemble a stopgap foreign aid program from the wreckage of the permanent program after the Senate's 41-to-37 vote late Friday killing the authorization bill.

Since there is nearly \$5 billion in unspent funds that could still be distributed, the vote does not mean the immediate end of foreign assistance by the United States.

But the Senate action, coming after bitter debate and representing the culmination of years of increasing criticism over U. S. spending and involvement around the world, appears to leave the future of the program in doubt.

The interim approach as drafted by presidential advisers with the Agency for International Development would include these moves:

● A congressional resolution extending economic and military aid programs for 90 days at the same rate of expenditure as last year—\$2.64 billion a year.

● A supplemental appropriation of \$400 million—\$250 million for Pakistani refugee relief and \$150 million for programs in Vietnam to maintain relatively stable economic and social conditions.

The plans were drawn up in an atmosphere of frenetic activity both at the White House and the agency, where it was made clear that the administration did not intend to take Friday's defeat as final and where the consequences of the Senate action were described as drastic.

Ron L. Ziegler, the White House press secretary, said: "We feel it is up to Congress to restore the foreign aid program."

Close-up view of section of the tower ripped by blast.

Close-up view of section of the tower ripped by blast.

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News Analysis

Rebellion on Aid Bill Comes During a Delicate Evolution

By Murray Marder

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31 (UPI).—The Nixon administration sees its whole shifting pattern of world diplomatic and economic relations challenged by the Senate defeat of its foreign aid bill.

Officials were almost incredulous as they began examining the consequences of the Senate's action. A statement of dissent issued in the name of Secretary of State William P. Rogers was actually an understatement. Mr. Rogers called the vote Friday night "deeply disheartening," especially because "it comes at a particularly delicate moment of transition in American foreign policy."

This is a key phrase. It hints at the reasons administration strategists fear the Senate's action can have what Mr. Rogers described as "a profoundly adverse effect on U.S. policy."

All the major ingredients of U.S. foreign policy are now in a state of evolution:

Relations with the major adversary powers, China and the Soviet Union; the state of the war in Indochina; relations with major allies in Europe and in Asia; and financial and trade relations with all foreign countries as a result of President Nixon's decision to "float" the dollar, reshape the international payments system and impose a surcharge on imports.

Part of Process Secret

Mr. Nixon and his planners counted on either support, or relative quiescence, in Congress, on disarming their critics while this multiple transitional process—part of it secret—was under way.

The Nixon doctrine—the all-embracing concept that has been designed to explain how the administration will reduce involvement overseas to a level that the strained U.S. resources can sustain—is itself loosely defined, with admitted "ambiguity." Differences about just what this doctrine means are imbedded in the revolt against foreign aid that exploded on the Senate floor.

What happened in the Senate, as the Agency for International Development's administrator, John A. Hannah, ruefully conceded yesterday, is that the congressional constituency that supported foreign aid for a generation—with increasing disaffection in recent years, especially because of dismay over the Vietnam war—suddenly collapsed. Liberals in both parties were the core of that support. Mr. Nixon had boasted that he would "pull the rug out" from under their opposition to his Indochina policy by his troop withdrawal plans; at least momentarily, they have pulled the rug out from under his larger plans.

Opposing Arguments

A paradox of foreign aid is that it has been under mounting assault by diametrically opposed arguments: It is a "giveaway" program or just the opposite, a prop for U.S. industry disguised as a handout; a "bulwark against world Communism" and a selfless aid to developing nations or a prime support of repressive governments and military dictatorships.

Mr. Nixon acknowledged in a report to Congress last year that "confusion" is "inherent in our present approach" to foreign aid, which "lumps together" military assistance, humanitarian assistance and development assistance.

He proposed reforms to untangle contradictory objectives: in the process, however, the Nixon administration appears to have been the victim of some of its own rhetoric.

For its international economic, monetary and trade reform pur-

Songs of Tribute

On Taiwan Help

Chiang Turn 84

TAIPEI, Oct. 31 (UPI).—About 10,000 students and military cadets formed ranks before the Presidential Office Building this morning to sing songs of tribute to Nationalist China's President Chiang Kai-shek on his 84th birthday.

The President, as is his custom, stayed in seclusion at his home outside Taipei.

There was an abundance of other birthday activities, with the emphasis on entertainment. The program included fireworks, concerts, athletic competitions, military acrobatic performances and student excursions to the mountains. Museums and amusement parks charged no admission fees today and movie tickets were sold at half-price.

The festive air comes at an especially welcome time. Although there has been no sense of crisis or panic here since the United Nations voted last Monday to expel Taiwan, the past week has been a sad one for many people here.

Since last spring, President Chiang has been delegating more of his responsibilities, particularly to his elder son, Deputy Premier Chiang Ching-kuo. But the President is still believed to make all major governmental decisions and his health is considered good.

India Cyclone Kills 19

CALCUTTA, Oct. 31 (UPI).—A cyclone packing winds of up to 95 miles an hour tore through parts of West Bengal in southeastern India yesterday, leaving at least 19 dead.

The Roll Call In Senate Vote

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31 (AP).—Following is the roll call vote by which the Senate rejected the foreign aid program:

FOR THE BILL—31

Democrats—19

Anderson (N.Y.)

Borah (N.H.)

Butte (Mont.)

McIntyre (N.H.)

Republicans—12

Griffin (Mich.)

Javits (N.Y.)

Mathias (Md.)

Packwood (Ore.)

Perkins (Kan.)

Perry (Iowa)

Taft (Ohio)

Torricelli (N.J.)

Wicker (Miss.)

Young (Iowa)

AGAINST THE BILL—41

Democrats—26

Allen (Ala.)

Bay (Ind.)

Bentsen (Tex.)

Bible (Neb.)

Burdick (Idaho)

Byrd (W.Va.)

Canon (Nev.)

Chiles (Fla.)

Church (Idaho)

Cranston (Calif.)

Eastland (Miss.)

Ervin (S.C.)

Republicans—15

Jordan (Idaho)

Booth (Del.)

Case (Calif.)

Conrad (N.D.)

DeLoach (Calif.)

Donaldson (Calif.)

Malone (N.J.)

McCarthy (N.Y.)

McGuire (N.J.)

Nease (N.C.)

Parsons (Kan.)

Reagan (Calif.)

Strom (Ark.)

Tamm (Mo.)

Trotter (Tex.)

Wicker (Miss.)

Young (Iowa)

Not voting but paired for the bill (pairs are used in close positions of members who are absent or do not vote): Democrats—Sparkman (Ala.), Metcalf (Mont.), Kennedy (Mass.), Humphrey (Maine); Republican—Scott (Pa.).

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Senate Itself Left Astonished By Its Vote on Foreign Aid

By Bernard Gwertzman

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31 (UPI).—The mood in the Senate the morning after the sudden and unexpected vote that killed the foreign aid bill was one of astonishment over what had been done.

Even long-term critics of the concept of direct foreign aid, such as Sen. J.W. Fulbright, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said yesterday that they were completely surprised by the outcome that their votes had brought about.

Few senators seemed willing to discuss the future of foreign aid because they said they were still "digesting what had happened."

Sen. Frank Church, D., Idaho, and some other outspoken opponents of the administration's foreign aid bill indicated, however, that steps should be taken to restore purely humanitarian parts of the foreign aid measure.

Sen. Church, in a statement, said the rejection of the foreign aid bill had been "the most cleansing, cathartic happening to occur on Capitol Hill in many a year."

"Groteque Money Tree"

"The present foreign aid program has been turned into a grotesque money tree, sheltering the foreign investments of our biggest corporations and furnishing aid and comfort to repressive governments all over the world," he said.

Sen. Church said that previous efforts to revise the aid program

had been ignored by successive Presidents.

"Last night's vote finally got the message across," he said. "Now that we have the administration's attention, perhaps we can go back to the drawing board."

An aide to Sen. Church suggested that when the Foreign Relations Committee meets tomorrow, voices will probably be heard urging legislation to provide money for specialized United Nations agencies, as well as allocations for humanitarian relief and other such humanitarian projects. He also said that many senators would urge continued provisions enabling the sale of military equipment to Israel.

Many senators said that the suddenness of the vote caught them unaware and that if the closeness of the vote, 41-37, had been predicted, there would not have been so many absentees.

Thirty-two senators were not present.

Sen. Edward M. Kennedy, D., Mass., said that he did not agree with those who said the vote was the greatest defeat for America since the Senate rejected the League of Nations a half-century ago.

"So many vital aid programs are involved," Sen. Kennedy said, "that I think the Senate will act quickly to pick up the pieces and put together a decent bill that reflects the best long-run interests of the nation."

Premature Optimism

"In other words," he said, "reports of the death of American foreign aid are clearly premature."

Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R., N.Y., said he thought the vote was due to resentment in the Senate against the expulsion of Nationalist China from the UN and the "growing disenchantment" with the essentially unchanging nature of the foreign aid program through the years.

He and Sen. Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, the Republican leader, indicated that they would back any administrative effort for a continuing resolution to keep foreign aid alive.

Sen. Kennedy said the vote was brought about by "a completely unexpected and unforeseen coalition of five elements."

He said they were anti-Vietnam liberals, traditional isolationists, budget cutters, conservatives angered over the Chinese Nationalist expulsion, and "a tired reaction in the Senate to the unwise pressure to pass the bill late on a Friday evening at the end of a difficult and increasingly bitter debate."

"I do not think that any senator anticipated the vote, and I do not think it would have happened if we had realized the danger," he said.

3 More Are Dead in Ulster; 2 of Wounds, One 'Executed'

(Continued from Page 1)

Ballymurphy area and wounded three others, one in the leg and the other in the shoulder, an army spokesman said.

At Carrickmacross, in County Armagh, snipers traded shots with an army mobile patrol, but there were no casualties, he said.

Last night British troops in Belfast shot and wounded two teenagers riding in a car; an explosion at an Armagh rugby-club clubhouse, where a dance was being held, wounded seven persons, one seriously, and a Belfast pub was demolished when army explosives experts trying to defuse a planted bomb inadvertently detonated it, the army said. The demolition experts were not hurt.

Bombs ripped two Londonderry stores tonight, and army explosives experts dismantled a bomb in a third store. An army spokesman said no one was near the explosion-wrecked stores, but a crowd had gathered near the third, "and we'd have had bodies if that bomb had gone off."

An exploding Claymore mine overturned an army Ferret armored car near Crossmaglen, on the County Down border with the Republic tonight, but the soldiers inside emerged unhurt, the spokesman said.

The bomb that killed army cook Booth yesterday also injured three Catholic children and four soldiers. The bomb attack was aimed at two houses which had been taken over by the army. The children had gone back with their father, John Doran, to their former home to collect their belongings.

The army said the gunmen burst into the house while the Doran family was still there, planted the bomb and rushed out. It exploded before Mr. Doran and his children could escape, an army spokesman said.

The attack followed bombings yesterday of eight customs posts on the border with the Irish Republic in 35 minutes.



AT SAIGON INAUGURAL—U.S. Secretary of the Treasury John B. Connally and his wife with U.S. Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker Acheson at ceremonies in which Van Thieu was sworn in for a second term as president of South Vietnam. Mr. Connally, who is starting a tour of Asia, represented President Richard M.

Thieu Is Inaugurated for 2d Term

(Continued from Page 1)

gone during the past week to provide security.

American troops were kept off the streets under an alert that continued almost all of nearly 200,000 American servicemen in Vietnam to their bases.

Anti-government students were responsible for two incidents at about the same time as Mr. Thieu was being inaugurated. In one a police jeep was firebombed, and in the other 200 balloons were released, carrying anti-government leaflets. No one was arrested in the incident.

The ceremony was broadcast on national radio and taped for presentation three times later today on South Vietnamese television. Mr. Thieu and his new vice president, Tran Van Huong, took the oath from Chief Justice Tran Van Lanh.

Mr. Thieu also signed a decree today granting amnesty to some 2,500 criminal prisoners. A government announcement of amnesty was to mark the inauguration and South Vietnam's National Day tomorrow.

Effective immediately, 2,000 prisoners will be released and 500 will have their sentences reduced. One prisoner's sentence was commuted to imprisonment. An additional 2,010 prisoners are expected to be freed or get reductions of sentences.

In his speech, Mr. Thieu referred only briefly to the drawing of his only two opponents from the presidential election and said he hoped that they would now unite behind him. He once again thanked people who voted for him, what he termed a referendum of his leadership.

Rivals Not Present

Neither of his principal opponents, Gen. Duong Van Minh and Vice-President Nguyen Ky, attended the ceremony though both had been in Saigon.

As final preparation, being made yesterday, Mr. Ky's victory to his own credit, the front rank of the South Vietnamese government. Mr. Ky, 49, was sworn in as president of the Republic of Vietnam.

Four years as an outcast largely powerless vice-president when the aged and ailing Mr. Huong was sworn in. In a televised speech, the 61-year-old Mr. Thieu said he would return armed forces to "combating the enemy" and "defending the country."

"I feel now more than ever," he said, "that the symbol of patriotic sacrifice, should be high. Mr. Ky may well resign, but I feel that the symbol of patriotic sacrifice, should be high."

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U.S. Officials Seek Stopgap on Aid

(Continued from Page 1)

other assistance through the World Bank and its various affiliated institutions or through the Export-Import Bank. These alone account for about \$1.47 billion in the current fiscal year, which began July 1.

White House Conferences

Also not included were \$2.23 billion of military aid covered in U.S. Defense Department budget, \$7.5 billion for the Peace Corps, \$1.1 billion of Food for Peace shipments, \$90 million for maritime

aid, and \$32 million of excess military equipment.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee estimated that requested economic and military aid this year would total \$9.5 billion. President Nixon was reported by White House officials to have conferred at length with Henry A. Kissinger, his assistant for national security affairs, on the consequences of the Senate action and on how best to recover from it. The National Security Council also met on the subject.

Sen. Jacob K. Javits, R., N.Y., announced that he was prepared to join Sen. Hugh Scott, the minority leader, in the effort to put through the continuing resolution.

However, even without the \$400-million supplemental appropriation, adoption of an extension could not be taken for granted. Mike Mansfield of Montana, the Senate Democratic leader and long a foe of the aid program, pointed out after the vote that a continuing resolution was "subject to amendment and unlimited debate."

To many observers, this was a warning that a filibuster might have even a temporary extension of the aid program.

Would Downgrade Arms

Besides a greater emphasis on multilateral aid through international agencies rather than bilateral or direct aid by the United States, Sen. Mansfield sought also to de-emphasize military assistance.

In the vote, 26 Democrats and 15 Republicans joined to defeat the bill, while 19 Republicans and 8 Democrats voted to approve it.

Sen. Mansfield said that about \$143 billion had been spent on foreign assistance in the post-war period. Noting that several billion dollars remain "in the pipeline," he said the program would "not die suddenly but very likely die a lingering death."

Rome Police Oust Slum Dwellers Who Seized Flats

ROME, Oct. 31 (UPI).—Scores of police carried out a dawn operation today to evict thousands of persons who seized 1,700 empty apartments in an effort to win low-cost housing.

A police spokesman said that there was resistance only in "two or three" cases as police evicted men, women and children from apartments they seized early yesterday.

One 36-year-old woman threatened to leap from a fourth floor window if police evicted her. She was talked down by an official, who said that he would try to find her another home. One family hurried dishes at police and others shouted abuse as police broke down doors to enter buildings.

Vatican Is Fainted

LONDON, Oct. 31 (UPI).—The Vatican reacted with "painful surprise" yesterday to the rejection of the aid program. Elsewhere in Europe there were few protests.

French government sources said the Senate action would help mainland China and the Soviet Union cultivate developing nations with their own economic aid programs.

The British Foreign Office declined to comment.

Brezhnev Signs Security Accord With French

(Continued from Page 1)

Chancellor Willy Brandt to Paris for a summit to take place within several weeks.

Despite these disclaimers, and Mr. Pompidou's refusal to sign a treaty with the Russians, it would appear that France and the Soviet Union have strengthened their ties to political entities on this paragraph, which Bonn understands that its two biggest neighbors do not exactly disagree on European policy.

This emphasis on Franco-Soviet understanding was the purpose of Mr. Brezhnev's trip and the main reason he came himself, was treated as a chief of state, and made his speech at the Grand Trianon calling for Franco-Soviet unity in dealing with the world's "hot points."

French Gains

But the French did not end up empty-handed. Mr. Pompidou obtained Mr. Brezhnev's stopper in East Berlin to urge the East Germans to do some real negotiating on Berlin, and he also got a series of public commitments from the Russians that would be difficult to alter in the security conference or in bilateral relations—to violate.

For example, in the Statement of Principles, a three-page text

Brezhnev Signs Security Accord With French

(Continued from Page 1)

that accompanies the declaration, the Soviet Union agrees that bilateral cooperation is to include scholarly, scientific and cultural exchanges, the exchange of information, and new contacts among groups, especially youth organizations. French sources in Paris said that Mr. Pompidou insisted on this paragraph, which would be consistent with his idea that this sort of "interpenetration" between the blocs must be the basis of any security conference.

In the declaration, a "general normalization" between the two Germanys is also called for. This carefully-worded paragraph states that after the inter-German Berlin agreement, "other results can be expected from the efforts undertaken (between the two Germanys) for general normalization of relations; the admission, consequently, of these two states to the United Nations will open new perspectives for strengthening the security, developing exchanges and enlarging the cooperation among all nations of Europe."

Another main clause of the statement on European security says that "one of the principal tasks... will be the creation of a system of engagements that ex-

cludes any recourse to threats or the use of force... that insures the territorial integrity of nations, the noninterference in their internal affairs and the equality and independence of all nations."

A Disarmament Call

France and the Soviet Union also repeated the call for the Five nuclear disarmament conference. There is no reference to force reductions in Europe, although the two men discussed it yesterday morning, and, according to informed sources, agreed that though they had differing positions, further consultation could take place. The French generally oppose force reductions on the grounds it would favor the Soviet Union.

Finally, there are references to the Middle East, Indochina, the Indo-Pakistani conflict and economic cooperation, but nothing that was not reported as the talks were underway last week.

Brezhnev Talks Go On

EAST BERLIN, Oct. 31 (Reuters).—Mr. Brezhnev today continued secret talks with East German leaders.

Informed sources said the nego-

tiations now taking place between East and West Germany on implementing the four-power Berlin agreement have figured high on the agenda for the discussions.

The same sources said Mr. Brezhnev has postponed his departure from East Berlin tonight and will probably leave tomorrow.

The official East German news agency ADN said the talks, which began yesterday afternoon, dealt with mutual cooperation and "a series of current problems of the international situation, including questions of strengthening European security."

Since early yesterday evening, there has been no word about Mr. Brezhnev's activities. The last report came from ADN, which said the talks were continuing.

It was not known whether Walter Ulbricht, the 78-year-old head of state, was taking part in the talks today as he did yesterday. If he was, it would be quite a feat for a man who was reportedly reported last month to be still physically very frail after circulatory disorders.

He resigned as party leader last May, officially because of advancing years and ill health, and has been seen in public since mid-June.

Swiss Elect A Woman

(Continued from Page 1)

last year when he launched the "national campaign against over-foreignization of the people and homeland."

In a 1970 referendum, this bid to entice a drastic cut in the number of foreigners in Switzerland, now at about one million, was narrowly defeated.

He has since broken away from the national campaign and set up his Republican Movement with a broader Switzerland-first platform.

Forecasts gave his group at least ten seats in the National Council. The old house included 41 Socialists, 42 Radical-Liberals, 45 Christian Democrats and 21 deputies of the Agrarian, Tradesmen and Citizens party.

Under an agreement worked out between these four biggest parties 12 years ago, they share the seven posts in the federal cabinet. The grand coalition is certain to continue when the cabinet comes up for reelection by both houses later this year.

2 Dead of Cholera In Lisbon; 61 Cases

Chief Sees Space Center

on Pledges to Support 's Nonalignment Policy

NGTON, Oct. 31 (Reuter). President Nixon today pledged support for the United States' non-alignment policy.

President Nixon, who went to Houston to visit the Space Center, said that the United States had considerable interest in the space program, which he said was a key to the future of the world.

He also said that the United States was committed to the principle of non-alignment, which he said was a key to the future of the world.

me of Judge t by Missile Navy Miscue

AWBERRY PLAINS, Oct. 31 (AP).—A U.S. plane today dropped a missile through the home of Judge Parrott of the Tennessee Court of Criminal Appeals, police said.

The plane was flying low over the home when it dropped the missile, which exploded in the yard.

The judge's home was damaged, but he and his family were not hurt.

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EAST MEETS WEST—Yugoslavian President Tito trying on American western hat during his visit to Houston. It was presented to him by Mayor Louie Welch.

25 Airlines Still Disagree On '72 Fares

By Victor Lusich

LAUSANNE, Switzerland, Oct. 31 (NYT).—The 25 airlines flying North Atlantic routes have failed again to agree on a passenger fare structure to take effect April 1.

The collapse early Saturday of a conference called by the International Air Transport Association after four days of intensive negotiations increased the possibility of a rate war on the heavily traveled North Atlantic routes.

A last-ditch attempt to avoid an "open fare" situation is expected to be made when the senior officials of the IATA airlines trade association gather in Honolulu Nov. 15 for its annual general meeting.

Dr. Reynolds, assistant IATA director general and chairman of the Lausanne meeting, called on the airline negotiators to confer with their head offices, and with their governmental authorities if necessary, in the hope of finding a way out of the deadlock.

Starting Feb. 1 Under IATA rules the airlines will be free to charge whatever fares they want on the North Atlantic beginning Feb. 1 unless an accord is reached beforehand.

However, governments could intervene if they are dissatisfied with the fares set by the airlines flying in and out of their countries.

An accord reached by the airlines at Montreal last summer for a new North Atlantic air fare structure collapsed when Lufthansa, the West German flag line, rejected it as too complicated.

At the same time, Lufthansa announced that it would introduce the lowest transatlantic rates ever offered on scheduled jet flights.

Stumbling Block The new bid here to end the impasse founded, an IATA statement said, because it was impossible to agree on the rates and conditions for a new low-level excursion fare for the individual traveler.

This fare would have served as the basis for setting all the other excursion and group rates that airlines offer.

The airlines are divided on how best to meet the growing competition of the supplemental carriers that provide cheap charter flights.

Some believe that they should offer cheaper fares to the individual traveler, while others believe that they can fill more of the seats on their jumbo jets with attractive group fares.

A-Ship Savannah Will Be Museum

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31 (UPI).—The nuclear ship Savannah, hailed ten years ago as the vessel of the future, is being readied for conversion to a museum. Officials said it costs too much to run.

A Federal Maritime Administration spokesman said technicians will soon begin draining water from the Savannah's nuclear reactor, a procedure which would corrode the reactor so much it might be ruined.

The 21,000-ton cargo ship was completed in 1961 amid predictions it would revolutionize commercial sea travel by proving the feasibility of nuclear power. But it proved too expensive for operation by private shipping firms and was tied up two years ago at Galveston, Texas.

Muskie: No Humphrey Repeat

NEW YORK, Oct. 31 (AP).—Sen. Muskie, avoiding comment on his own presidential prospects, said Friday he wasn't interested in the vice-presidential spot on any Democratic ticket headed by Sen. Hubert Humphrey, D. Minn.

"I've run that track once before," said Sen. Muskie in an appearance on ABC-TV's Dick Cavett show. "I was proud to run with Hubert and, actually, I think one good turn deserves another."

Asked about his own plans to seek the presidential nomination, he replied, "There's no announcement right away. We want to leave some doubt."

On Appeal by Gravel, Court Halts Pentagon Papers Probe

By Robert Reinhold

BOSTON, Oct. 31 (NYT).—A grand jury investigation into the release and distribution of the secret Pentagon papers was halted for at least a week yesterday by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the First Circuit.

The action came in response to an emergency appeal by Sen. Mike Gravel, D. Alaska, who contended that testimony given in the closed-door inquiry might damage the constitutional rights of free speech and debate and violate the separation of powers between the three branches of government.

In acting, Judges Edward M. McKeene and Frank M. Coffin agreed that lawyers for the senator had raised "important issues of substance" and ordered government attorneys not to take any further testimony on possible crimes relating to publication of the Vietnam war study pending the outcome of the hearing scheduled for Thursday.

The order was issued at the conclusion of a hectic day in which six recalcitrant witnesses raised a series of motions in U.S. District Court against testifying.

Gravel's intervention stems from his action of June 29, when he called a special meeting of his subcommittee on public buildings and grounds and placed on public record a copy of the 7,000-page Pentagon study. Subsequently, a member of his personal staff, Mr. Leonard S. Rodberg, offered the papers for republication to various publishers in the Boston area.

The jury has called Mr. Rodberg and Howard Webber, editor of the MIT Press, which declined to print the study.

In several motions earlier this week, the senator argued that the activities of the staff were protected by the first article of the Constitution, which holds that senators and representatives "shall not be questioned in any other place" for "any speech or debate in either house."

Clerical Celibacy Stressed Synod Conservatives Win Victory

By Edward B. Fiske

ROME, Oct. 31 (NYT).—Opponents of any change in Roman Catholic policy to permit the ordination of married men won a major victory at the Synod of Bishops yesterday with the release of a draft document on the priesthood.

The 28-page statement, which is scheduled to be voted upon this week, urges that no changes be made in present practices, even in "particular cases."

The only concession it makes to liberals is a recommendation that the Pope keep in mind the possibility of reopening the issue for further study in the future if he thinks it would be to the advantage of the church as a whole.

The Synod of Bishops has been holding a monthlong meeting in Vatican City to advise Pope Paul VI on matters pertaining to the priesthood and justice in the world.

Speeches Over The more than 200 bishops, Eastern-rite patriarchs and heads of male religious orders in attendance have now completed their speeches and small group discussions on both themes. They will begin voting tomorrow evening after a three-day break for All Saints and All Souls Days.

Yesterday morning, the delegates received copies of the draft document on the priesthood that was drawn up by a group of 22 synod delegates and advisers. It showed that on the most controversial matter under discussion—the possible ordination of married men—conservatives are clearly in control.

According to an official spokesman, the secret document strongly reaffirms the traditional principle of celibacy for priests.

It also declares: "The possibility should not be given of admitting to the priesthood married men, not even in particular cases, unless, keeping in mind the good of the universal church, the Holy Father, according to his prudent judgment, would indicate that the matter should be subjected to examination."

Liberal Effort This and other sections of the document are subject to modification during debate this week and liberals are expected to use the recess to work out amendments to permit the ordination of married men in situations of priest shortages.

Several liberals have also indicated that they are prepared to issue an unofficial minority report if their positions are not reflected in the final synod document.

The priesthood draft was released two days late and the delay—coupled with the convoluted rhetoric of the statement on the ordination of married men—suggested that the committee was deeply divided on several issues, including the celibacy question.

In other sections, the document reportedly urges that synods of priests be integrated more into diocesan decision-making procedures and recognizes the rights of priests to participate in political activities so long as such actions do not have a divisive effect on their church communities.

The Vatican claims that, because Cardinal Siliy's church is in the Soviet Union, which freed him from prison in 1963, he cannot be the leader of Ukrainian-rite bishops in the West. The Ukrainians charge that the Vatican is seeking détente with Moscow at the expense of "sacrilegious" the Ukrainian church.

Silipii-Vatican Clash VATICAN CITY, Oct. 31 (AP).—Tensions rose yesterday between the Vatican and Ukrainian-rite bishops called to Rome by Josef

Bishop Shenouda Named Patriarch Of Coptic Church

CAIRO, Oct. 31 (AP).—A blindfolded, six-year-old boy, picked from the congregation, reached into a silver box today and drew out a piece of paper bearing the name of Bishop Shenouda—thus selecting him as the new patriarch of Alexandria and all Africa.

Bishop Shenouda, 48, a popular theological teacher and writer, and the first chairman of the Association of Theological Colleges in the Near East, thus became the 117th patriarch of the Orthodox Coptic Church in Egypt.

Two other men were candidates for the office. They were Bishop Samuel, 50, and the Rev. Mr. Elmakary, 48, Coptic papal representative in Kuwait. The three received the highest number of votes in balloting Friday by a 700-member electoral college.

Bishop Shenouda becomes the spiritual leader of 23 million Copts, including 15 million in the semi-autonomous Orthodox Coptic Church in Ethiopia, six million in Egypt and one million others in the United States, Canada, Australia, England and the Middle East.

Soviet Flotilla at Cuba

MIAMI, Oct. 31 (UPI).—A flotilla of five Soviet warships arrived in Havana harbor today, according to a Cuban radio broadcast monitored in Miami. The broadcast said the flotilla would stay until Nov. 9 and consisted of two submarines, two anti-submarine vessels and a tanker.

iskie Now Trailing Nixon Harris and Gallup Polls

By Warren Weaver Jr.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 31 (NYT).—Edmund S. Muskie, widely expected to be the front runner for the Democratic presidential nomination, is slipping in the latest Louis Harris survey.

The latest Harris survey, released last week, showed that Muskie, who had led Nixon from November 10 until late last summer, now falls 12 percentage points behind the President.

New Harris Poll, taken the week in September and published in The Washington Post, President Nixon 47 percent.

Order Verdict Against Member Manson Clan

LOS ANGELES, Oct. 31 (UPI).—A federal judge today ordered the execution of a man found guilty of murdering a woman, a decision that was the second trial for a man on the murder. The judge ruled that a prosecutor asked a witness an "influencing question."

The man was accused of helping a woman kill Mr. Shea, a movie man and ranch hand at the Manson clan's Spahn ranch community.

A superior court jury of eight and four women deliberated for hours before returning the verdict against the 30-year-old man, known as "Clem Tuttle," a Manson family member.

A penalty phase will follow, at which the same jury will decide whether Crogan gets life in prison or death in the gas chamber.

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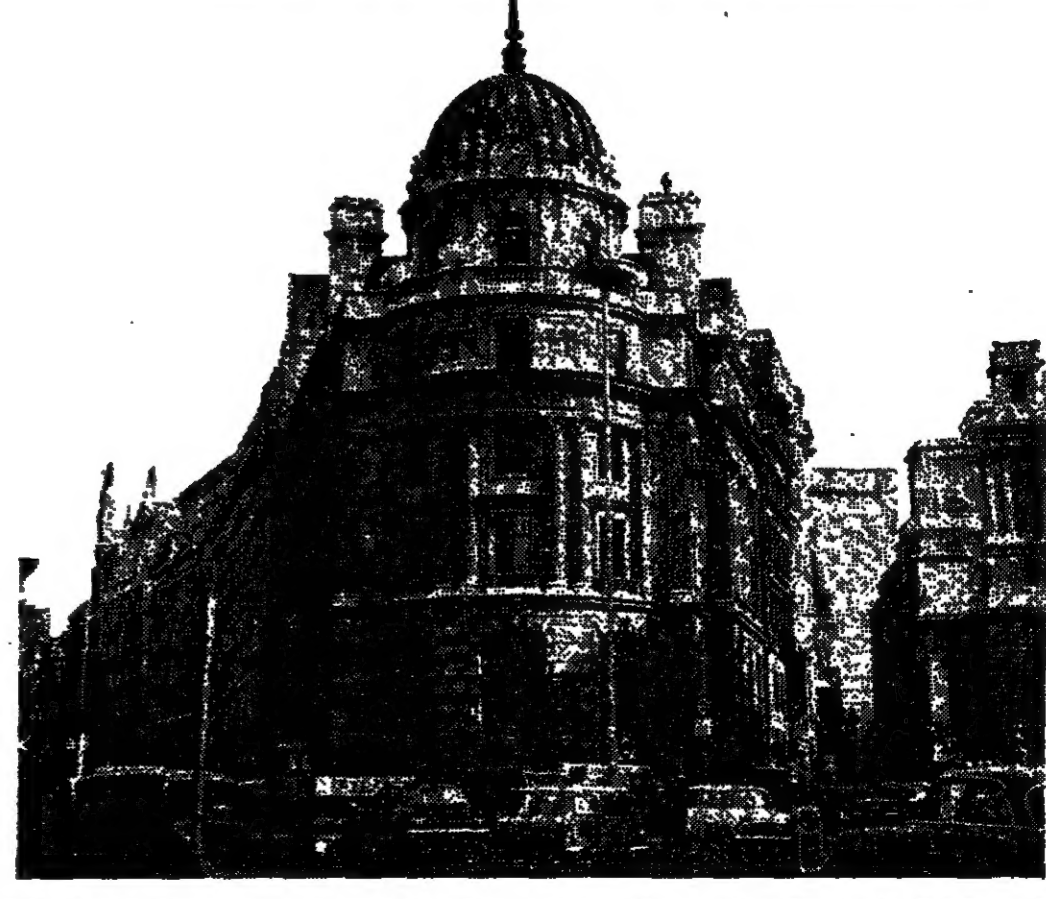
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The Irresponsibles

President Nixon has termed the Senate rejection of the foreign aid bill "highly irresponsible." And there are many—including most of the Democratic presidential hopefuls—who would agree, but who would give Mr. Nixon high rank among the irresponsible.

The President certainly is not without sin in this respect, even if he did cast one of the first stones. His tactics, whether in forwarding his nationalist economic policy or in trying to keep Taiwan in the United Nations, fostered the neo-isolationism of which the Senate vote was such a shocking example.

But it should never be forgotten that this was a vote by the upper house of the American legislature, by that select group which represents the states in the national assemblies, which is called upon to advise and consent with respect to presidential appointments and treaties; it is the body which, in sum, is thought by many to hold the hope of rescuing American foreign policy from executive domination.

Moreover, it was essentially a Democratic "victory." The Republicans, who might have been expected to respond most readily to President Nixon's leadership, or the lack of it, came painfully close to an even split. But the Democrats, headed by their leader in the Senate, Mr. Mansfield, and with the support of the chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Sen. Fulbright, voted overwhelmingly against a measure which, for all its faults, constitutes the most constructive tool of American foreign policy.

So it might be just as well, in appraising the event, to dwell less on the faults of Mr. Nixon and give closer attention to the weaknesses of the Senate as a policy-making

body, and of the Democratic party as the loyal opposition. For while many senators express the hope that out of this debacle may come a new foreign aid program, freer from error and extravagance, the opinions expressed by those senators show such wide divergences on what constitutes error, and how much makes for extravagance, that the best that can be hoped for senatorial initiative is a kind of patchwork and improvisation.

Any vote of this kind that teams Sens. Cranston and Eastland, Bayh and the Byrds (two Byrds, for two Virginias), Church and McClellan in a budget-slashing operation does not promise much consistency for constructive action. The Democrats in the Senate have proved they can be nay-sayers, but American foreign policy cannot be constructed out of negatives. That was tried before—in the 1920s and 1930s—and the bill for the results was too high to be borne again.

The President will have to do the best he can to pick up the pieces of a shattered aid program, and the effort involved, the complexities it introduces into his conduct of diplomacy, will be the price he pays for his own tactical blunders. But he does deserve better support from responsible Democrats than they have given hitherto and a wider public appreciation of just who the irresponsibles really are. Sen. Church has called the vote on foreign aid a "catastrophe." Administering this is an odd role for the Senate to play and it is to be feared that the Idaho senator belongs to an ancient school of medicine and politics, which killed more than it cured. He and his like had better be taken off the case—it calls for more sophisticated remedies.

Leader of the 'Third World'

Marshal Tito's state visit to President Nixon comes at an opportune time. In keeping with the Yugoslavian visitor's role as a philosopher of nonalignment in world politics, this visit will balance off his talks in Belgrade last month with Leonid I. Brezhnev, the Soviet Communist leader.

In his address to the National Press Club, Marshal Tito again emphasized his determination to look out for the rights and interests of smaller "third world" countries during a period of accelerating great-power diplomatic activity. In particular, he seeks assurances that his government will be heard at the European security conference that remains a priority objective of Soviet diplomacy.

This goal is directly related to Yugoslavia's great—but largely unspoken—fear that after President Tito's departure from office the Kremlin will again try to establish hegemony over Yugoslavia, especially if that country shows signs of disintegrating under a revival of ethnic and national antagonisms. That is why President Tito's prime goal

last month was to get Mr. Brezhnev to reaffirm earlier Soviet pledges of noninterference in Yugoslavian affairs—and thus to rule out any application to Yugoslavia of the Brezhnev Doctrine, under which Moscow concedes only limited sovereignty to the Communist-ruled countries of Eastern Europe.

The survival of an independent, evolving Yugoslavia—whether or not it is ruled by native Communists—is so clearly in the best interests of the United States and its European allies that Washington should offer every practical assistance to that end short of an outright military commitment, which President Tito in any case could not accept.

It was of enormous importance to the United States and a reviving Western Europe that Marshal Tito in 1948 defied Stalin and survived. President Nixon will doubtless make clear to his guest that it will remain an American interest to help independent Yugoslavia survive Stalin's successors.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

People's China at the UN

The United Nations is about to undergo perhaps the most profound transformation of its 26-year history with the arrival of a delegation from the People's Republic of China. No matter how Peking's representatives conduct themselves, the glass house on the East River will never again be the same.

The most obvious immediate change is that the Big Four will again become the Big Five. It cannot be otherwise with the active participation of a government that rules a quarter of the human race, that already has diplomatic relations with over 80 countries and trade ties with many, and that has for a decade waged a harsh ideological struggle with the Soviet Union.

Nationalist China had maintained a low profile for years and had exercised only twice—long ago—the right of veto in the Security Council. Peking's inclusion in the Big Five means reduced influence for the other four, particularly for Washington and Moscow.

China cannot fail to play a leadership

role from the outset among the Asian and African countries that together can command large General Assembly majorities. Here Peking may cut heavily into the influence India has exercised in the past. Many new nations striving for development already look to China as a model. But the key question that can be answered only over time is: Will Peking play its role in a constructive way that will help build an effective United Nations, or will it strive to disrupt an organization from which it has been barred for 22 years and for which it has often voiced its contempt? In any event, it is far better to have the People's Republic in the UN than on the outside. We regret the expulsion of Nationalist China as the only spokesman for 14 million people on Taiwan; but Peking's participation is imperative if the world is ever to make a genuine collective effort to resolve a whole spectrum of vital problems, from arms control to environmental deterioration—or even if it is to avoid blowing itself to pieces.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

International Opinion

The U.S. Monetary Dilemma

Whatever the shortcomings of their immediate tactics, the Americans undoubtedly deserve considerable sympathy for the dilemma in which they find themselves. At the recent Group of Ten meeting, the European countries were clearly anxious that the American deficit should not disappear

too quickly: One man's deficit is another man's surplus. Yet for years those same nations, among others, have urged the Americans to act decisively on their balance of payments deficit as soon as possible. And much of that deficit has merely reflected the cost of supporting and defending America's many allies around the world.

—From the Daily Telegraph (London).

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

November 1, 1896

NEW YORK—New York never witnessed such a demonstration as the Republican and sound money parade today. The scene was unparalleled in the political history of the country. Broadway was transformed into an ocean of flags. Both sides of the street were lined with hundreds of thousands of people. The parade, with General Horace Porter as grand marshal, marched up Broadway. It is estimated that 150,000 men were in line.

Fifty Years Ago

November 1, 1921

PARIS—Strange figures appeared in the Paris Law Courts yesterday, figures clad in white, loose garments with sandaled feet, bare arms, long hair and forehead bands. The central figure was Mr. Raymond Duncan, American exponent of the ancient Greek mode of living, and with him were a few disciples of his "back to nature" doctrine. Mr. Duncan must answer a libel charge arising out of the disappearance of his son, Menalkas, ten months ago.



'Is This a Laughin' or a Firin'?

Put Out More Red Flags

By C. L. Sulzberger

PARIS.—One must keep certain underlying truths in mind when assessing the importance of Brezhnev's visit here, during which red flags were as notable in Paris as in the days of the 1870 Commune.

The Russian policy of the Fifth French Republic has always been mixed up with France's internal political situation, and there has been a tendency to give the appearance of diplomatic concessions to Moscow and thus outflank from the left the powerful Communist party here.

Likewise the Kremlin, when addressing France in recent years, has sought to obscure the fact that it hoped to use French influence as a card to be played in two different games: that which the Soviet Union has been slowly elaborating in Germany and the even more important

maneuver of trying to diminish U.S. influence in Europe.

By displaying Russia's traditional friendship for France, Brezhnev evidently sought to stimulate reaction and alarm in Bonn. If consequently he can prod Willy Brandt, who got a Nobel Peace Prize for warming up relations with the East, into a still more amiable attitude, Brezhnev clearly hopes the disenchanted United States will show less faith and confidence in Europe and place even more emphasis on its expanding dialogue with the Kremlin.

The Pompidou-Brezhnev dialogue represented, at least in part, an effort by the French president to cement his political position at home, whereas for the Soviet boss it represented an effort to strengthen Russia's diplomatic position abroad.

But aside from the domestic aspect, the French viewpoint on the strategic implications of the meeting is of great interest, since Paris's interpretations of Soviet intentions have value and importance to the entire Western world.

France appears to feel that Russia is now satisfied with the extent of its territorial domain and is no longer expansionist; that therefore it strives to have the status quo accepted everywhere. Moscow thus favors signature by Bonn of agreements delimiting East-West borders (as are now being worked out) and it hopes that eventually Peking will accept the basis of existing frontiers with the U.S.S.R. in Asia.

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Peking's Attitude

The French nevertheless perceive that Soviet policy anomalies pass potentially unstable situations: China does not yet recognize its Soviet border de jure and German recognition of the Oder-Neisse Line is due only to the existing balance of forces in Europe. Although highly unlikely, were Germany ever again to become great and powerful, it might once more feel attracted to Russia's eastward.

Russia, aware of these possible dangers, favors coexistence, détente and a status quo—and France agrees. The Soviet Union is also aware of its strength as a world power, as relatively new an experience for Moscow as it is for Washington.

As Russia expands its global influence, primarily through its fleet and air force, it penetrates everywhere and this creates frictions. But whenever such frictions seem capable of producing trouble, Moscow is inclined to halt its penetrations.

As far as the United States is concerned, France feels the Russians want a kind of equality with America, a partition of power in the contemporary sense. While the Russians are not prepared to retreat on the ideological front and there are many contradictions in these various impulses, the French believe that in the end Moscow, eager to avoid conflict, will restrain or accommodate abrasive situations.

Gap Narrowing

Furthermore, it is felt here that Paris and Washington are now less far apart on the Middle East, as approaching harmony on Vietnam as the U.S.A. withdraws, and that they have reached a position where De Gaulle's intervention in North American affairs, via French Quebec, has ended.

It is improbable that any real diplomatic developments materialized from Brezhnev's interesting if rather staid trip. Pompidou, a clever politician, subtly used it to stress the isolation of the Communist party here and, as a statesman, to avoid new and definitive entangling engagements.

Brezhnev, for his part, established his role as the Number One Soviet leader abroad, as well as at home, and did his best to stir up new doubts and responses in Bonn and Washington. Time will demonstrate how successful the latter action is.

Rich vs. Poor Nation The New Class Warfare

By James Reston

WASHINGTON.—The Senate vote to kill the foreign aid bill is more symbolic than real. It will be revived in some other form long before the \$5 billion in the pipeline runs out, but it is one more dramatic illustration of how quickly the world is being transformed.

Almost every week now for over a year there has been some startling evidence that the postwar era of Soviet-U.S. domination in the world is over and that new centers of power and new relationships between nations are reshaping world politics.

In our own hemisphere, Prime Minister Trudeau of Canada has taken a more independent line in his policies toward Moscow and Peking, and for the first time in the history of the hemisphere a Marxist government has been voted into office in Chile. In Europe, Chancellor Willy Brandt of West Germany has established a much more open and friendly relationship with the Soviet Union and the other Communist nations beyond the Berlin wall, and the British House of Commons has finally accepted the principle of joining the European Common Market by a very large vote.

For 25 years, Washington and Moscow were so strong that the nations allied to them or beholden to them for military and economic security felt obliged to go along with them on major questions of foreign policy, often against their better judgment, but this is no longer true.

Steady Trend

General de Gaulle started the drift away from Washington when he took his naval forces out of the North Atlantic Treaty Command, and this trend has continued steadily until the other day, when Britain, France and finally the UN itself defied Washington by bringing Communist China into the United Nations. Ever Roman in the Soviet border does not go along with Moscow's foreign policy line, and while the United States is still the main source of Israel's weapons, the Israeli government follows its own independent policy.

It would be wrong to say the old alliances are breaking down, but it is obvious that the old blocs, separate and largely out of touch with one another, are shattering.

Ten years ago or even five, it would have been unthinkable for

a West German chieftain to establish an independent relationship with Moscow, or for an American President to launch a session to Peking without consultation with Japanese, or for a European country to ignore the common sense of American diplomacy.

For there are not in power centers in Washington, Moscow, now but three, developing in Japan, China, the new Europe, and we are beginning to see much more independence.

In the light of all this, it is not surprising that the United States, frustrated and bewildered over some economic problems at home, should be revising its programs to foreign nations—especially the other industrial nations in a position to do what they have been doing, kill the foreign aid bill, an emotional debate in the with a quarter of the absent is scarcely the do it.

Class Warfare

In fact, as new powers develop, it is going to be increasingly difficult for the United States to maintain its influence abroad. It lurches around as it has doing lately at the UN, economic and financial of the world, and in the on foreign aid. Besides, the main cause of the U.S. import surplus is the killing of the foreign aid bill, not to hurt the nations. The Common Market can take care of themselves to hurt the poor, underdeveloped countries that are likely to be the unintended casualties of the surplus and the foreign-aid

The gap between the rich and the poor nations of the world is getting wider with every year. This is not only a tragedy but a danger to peaceful development of changing world.

For there is now a kind of class war developing in the world between the rich nations and poor nations, and this is to get increasingly worse as all the power centers in the world, the northern hemisphere, the southern hemisphere, the underdeveloped majority of the human family now living below

Letters

Kennedy on Ulster

It was refreshing to know that America is no longer alien to the situation in Ireland, more so in view that the cause of justice and peace in that unhappy land is championed by Sen. Kennedy. The impatient outbursts of the British press—which seems to devote a good deal of time to shedding crocodile tears about East Pakistan, Greece, and so on and so forth, while keeping almost silent about the agony of Ireland back at "home"—indicate that Sen. Kennedy has simply "put where it hurts."

The history of Ireland in the last centuries is just a long tale of oppression, exploitation, murder and robbery of the Irish by the British. It is obvious to any unbiased observer that the only way to bring justice and a long-lasting peace for the Irish is simply to fulfill their very natural aspiration, a united, free and independent Ireland.

C. CAMPOS.

Montrouge, France.

If Mr. Lawson had not been so intent on being nasty and on attacking the Irish, he could have thought of some convincing arguments and parallels to his own case. Sen. Kennedy, instead, relied upon insults, i.e., the Kennedy family's "newness" in the United States, prejudice, i.e., Sen. Ribicoff's interest in Israel because of his religion, and incongruous parallels.

(Mrs.) D. SALZBERG.

Lausanne.

Retiring Abroad

"The Trouble with Retirement Society" amused me vastly. Contemporary Americans firmly believe that 60 heads are 50 times better than one and that when a "sociological" problem occurs a congress or committee is the mandatory way of solving it rather than the use of individual common sense. Well—I suppose mass quarantines proceed from the mass mind and must be solved by a mass of "experts" (ugh).

All the shuffling back and forth "between the academic and business worlds," as suggested by one guru, would prove a sorry waste of time. The sad truth is that, apart from sometimes teaching its victims to earn a living, Ameri-

can education doesn't educate the vast majority of its graduates. The vast majority of them attain "senior citizen" and "pass on" (like old socks they rot in the drawer) in complete ignorance of a thousand aspects of life which make it worth living.

I seldom visit the American Library in London. It is like the waiting room of a vertiginous firm and its contents might have been selected by computer. On my rare and almost inevitably see the same old habits among the American customers. The young ones like fugitives from a Woodstock-rock-and-roll session while the elders appear as though they unwillingly been interrupted a game of shuffleboard at Petersburg. They lack enough through the pages of Time magazine. They are palpably bored, the middle of one of the worst most ennobling cities. Few of them can speak a sentence of Portuguese and to them "baroque" means "hard-up." Distant, if are notoriously greener and certain that these desolate products of "the Protectors" would be just as fitful by enclaves in New Jersey "retirement villages" as "special homes for the elderly" save they will have more company in misery.

I am not contemptuous of unfeeling about these victims the disappearance of American home and family life and heartless expediency of out of scientific materialism which wants to thrust them out of the and out of mind. Here is a tragedy where the victims are can "know-how" doesn't open and "science," that chronic played Aladdin lamp of "progress" has not the answer.

THOMAS DEVINE

Lisbon.

'Kosygin in Canada'

Sharing full language rights with Ukrainians (CET, Oct. 1) has never been seriously considered in Canada. There would be any real historical constitutional bases for claiming it. This argument is sold used nowadays, and mostly from politicians wishing to milk the legitimate requests of French-Canadian population.

CHRISTIANE BACAYE

Athens.

[illegible]

Tomorrow's U. S. Elections

Tomorrow, voters in many areas of the United States will go to the polls for off-year elections concerned, for the most part, with local issues. Some of the races, however, have attracted national interest—chiefly the Mississippi governor's race and four mayoralty races.

Time of Change in Mississippi

By Philip D. Carter

JACKSON, Miss. (UPI)—It might make a good movie for Darryl Zanuck: A black civil rights leader is shot dead by a white man. His embittered brother, a Chicago racketeer, comes home seeking vengeance on whites, but flings himself into the Movement instead.

Meanwhile, the city's young white prosecutor risks a promising political career in two vigorous but unsuccessful attempts to convict the white segregationist accused of the slaying.

Then the prosecutor runs for governor and loses. The black man runs for mayor of a small, backward town and wins. Four years later, they face each other in a race for the governorship.

The black man confesses his sordid past and tells the world he has changed. The white man refuses to capitulate on his opponent's confessions. Each offers a hope for economic progress and racial peace. And through it all, the two men remain friends.

Transition

And as is usual in Mississippi, reality has outstripped fiction. For what started as a largely symbolic campaign by Mr. Evers has become the most extraordinary transitional moment in the Deep South's recent political history.

For the first time since the late 19th century, Mississippi blacks are taking an active part in the state's electoral politics with little fear or evidence of active repression by whites. In the process, white politics in Mississippi has also undergone a remarkable transformation. "For the first time since I can remember," a prominent white Democrat from Jackson observed, "nobody is screaming nigger, nigger."



William Waller

By the standards of simple arithmetic, Mr. Evers does not have a chance. Blacks make up only 37 percent of the state's population, and despite recent sweeping gains in voter registration, black registrants are still outnumbered by whites by more than two to one.

But all last week, during a flurry of last-minute campaign rallies and speeches, each candidate has made it clear that he is not taking Mr. Evers's defeat for granted.

Mr. Waller's backers—who now include virtually every member of the white political and financial establishment—have campaigned against during the summer's two Democratic primaries—fear the voter apathy and outright defections by whites could spell victory for the state's first black candidate for governor.

Victory Thoughts

Mr. Evers's supporters—mostly black, but including some poor white and an unwelcome number of white moderates and liberals—are suddenly allowing themselves thoughts of victory. Traditionally in this overwhelmingly Democratic state, the Democratic nominee has been certain of election in November. This year, however, a typically light white turnout for the general election, combined with heavy voting by the state's newly enfranchised blacks, could just possibly throw the election to Mr. Evers.

Regardless of the outcome of the election itself, Mr. Evers has won a major victory already. As the standard bearer for the state's long-submerged minority, the 49-year-old mayor of Fayette has emerged black politics in Mississippi to a degree unthinkable just a year ago.

As Mr. Evers's urging, more than 250 other black candidates across the state are seeking offices ranging from town constable to sheriff and state legislator. Many are expected to win, particularly in local elections in the heavily black counties along the Mississippi River and in the Delta. And despite white Mississippi's reputation for bloody resistance to racial change, there has been virtually no violence during the campaign and open racial hostility has been rare.

Some of the credit for the state's new open political atmosphere belongs to Mr. Waller. As "the working man's and working woman's candidate," the chunky 49-year-old Jackson lawyer and former prosecuting attorney has focused primarily on the state's need for economic progress and an improved image in the eyes of the rest of the nation.

'But One Issue'

"There is but one issue in Mississippi in this governor's race," he says, "and that is whether or not we believe in good citizenship and good government."

Mississippi, says Mr. Waller, is "in a transition state from the

typical Old South party politics to where we're running on the issues." And under this "new politics," he adds, "we're willing in Mississippi to live together and work together in harmony... I pledge to represent all the people of Mississippi as a statesman, as a leader, as a man who believes this is the best state in the Union."

This theme is remarkably similar to the one successfully exploited by Dale Bumpers of the neighboring state of Arkansas in his successful gubernatorial race last fall. Mr. Waller, in fact, hired Gov. Bumpers's media consultant for his campaign and even went so far as to use Gov. Bumpers's advertising format and slogans virtually unchanged.

During the primaries, Mr. Waller correctly guessed that most Mississippi whites had tired of the state's traditional racial politics. The only outspoken segregationists in the contest were soundly defeated in the first Democratic primary. In the second Democratic primary on Aug. 24, Mr. Waller defeated another racial moderate, the state's lieutenant governor, Charles Sullivan.

Mr. Sullivan's strength lay primarily with the state's more affluent white voters, including the most prominent and powerful Jackson bankers and virtually all of the publishers of the state's daily newspapers. But since the last primary, the establishment has rallied behind Mr. Waller.

In the summer of 1963, Charles Evers's younger brother, Medgar, was assassinated in Jackson. Mr. Waller twice prosecuted Mr. Evers's accused slayer, Byron de la Beckwith, an arch-segregationist businessman from Greenwood. The result was Mr. Beckwith's release after two mistrials, but Charles Evers and Mr. Waller became friends during the trial.

Temperate Attacks

Even today, Mr. Evers refers to Mr. Waller as "my good friend Bill." Mr. Waller is less effusive in public, but his attacks on Mr. Evers have been rare, and—by Mississippi standards—remarkably temperate. Mr. Evers says Mr. Waller is trying to "polarize the race" and has invited "outside interference" by Northern "mediators" like New York's Mayor John Lindsay, who campaigned here for Mr. Evers last week. His opponent, Mr. Waller further complains, has filed a "sham suit" against him seeking to invalidate Mr. Waller's nomination.

Although the suit is conceded no chance of success, it did provoke the entry of another candidate into the general election fight. The third candidate, state Supreme Court Justice Tom Brady, explained that his candidacy was a form of insurance against Mr. Waller's disqualification. Since filing as an independent, he has not campaigned, and although his name will appear on Tuesday's ballot, he reportedly asked that the voters

draw voters. Hence a light to moderate turnout is expected. Democratic outgroups, Republicans more than two to one.



Charles Evers

ignore it and vote for Mr. Waller instead.

Aside from his color, Mr. Evers's major handicap as a gubernatorial candidate are his self-admitted past as a criminal and his support from prominent national Democrats. In Mississippi, it is hard to say which hurts him most.

Evers' Past

His revelations this summer that he had once been a procurer, bootlegger and numbers racketeer provoked remarkably few public attacks by white politicians. However, his support by national Democrats like Mayor Lindsay, Sen. Edmund Muskie, D. Maine, and the Kennedy family was quite another matter.

Speaking at Waller's rally this week, both of Mississippi's U.S. senators roundly denounced Mr. Evers's Northern backers with the kind of Old South rhetoric Mr. Waller himself has largely avoided.

Money for Mr. Evers's campaign, according to Sen. James O. Eastland, was raised "on the fancy cocktail party circuit in cities far away like Washington," with "furtive, sly, long-haired people in attendance."

"Outsiders," Sen. John Stennis complained at another rally, are "trying to wreck our system" of elections. And if a large percentage of votes is cast for Mr. Evers, he warned, "you can just look out for years from now... They know that if we are divided and split, they can win this election or lay the groundwork for winning in future elections."

In Kentucky

FRANKFORT, Ky. (AP)—Kentucky holds a governor's election Tuesday in which Republicans are striving to capture two successive terms for the first time in this state's history while Democrats are attacking Republican economic policy.

Lt. Gov. Wendell Ford, the Democratic nominee, is a 47-year-old insurance man who sees national significance in the state election and has hammered constantly at economic issues.

Tom Emertson, the 38-year-old Republican nominee, is a former aide to Gov. Louie B. Nunn, who is prevented by state law from succeeding himself. Mr. Emertson's slogan is: "A candidate to believe in."

There is no burning issue to draw voters. Hence a light to moderate turnout is expected. Democratic outgroups, Republicans more than two to one.



Louise Day Hicks

ponent, the burly, 50-year-old former police commissioner Frank L. Rizzo.

The hand-picked choice of outgoing Mayor James H. J. Tate and his Democratic machine, Mr. Rizzo, exudes the image of the tough cop, and his biggest issue has been "law and order." Among blacks, who constitute a third of the city, and many liberals, he is widely resented. He gained national notoriety by such incidents as the slaying of Black Panthers in the middle of the street after a police raid last year, and he has been charged with being quick to bash heads, particularly black heads, to keep the lid on crime and disorders.

With blacks switching from their traditional Democratic ties to the Longstreths, who has also picked up support from liberal Democrats and the two leading newspapers, the Republican has been making gains. But with a 2-to-1 Democratic registration margin, Mr. Rizzo remains supremely confident—and ahead in all the polls.

CLEVELAND—Carl B. Stokes, the first Negro ever elected mayor of a major American city, is not seeking re-election this year. But he is a major—if not the major—issue in the three-way contest to succeed him at City Hall. The Republican candidate, Ralph J. Perk, 57, who lost to Mr. Stokes two years ago, has declared that a vote for either of his opponents is really a vote for Mr. Stokes.

Should either win, he said last week, "the only difference after the election will be that Stokes, instead of occupying City Hall, will pull the strings from a downtown office building."

The other two candidates insist they will be their own men. The Democrat, who won the primary last September with Mr. Stokes's backing (in order to block the

bid of a Stokes enemy), is millionaire real estate developer James M. Carney. He has been conducting a low-keyed campaign and could wind up third in the three-man race.

The man given the best chance to succeed Mr. Stokes is another black candidate, Arnold R. Pinkney, 40, who, though a Democrat, passed up the primary and is running as an independent. He has the firm backing now of the mayor and says: "I do not apologize for my association with Carl Stokes."

Unlike his opponents, who have been gearing their campaign strictly to the white voters, Mr. Pinkney has been campaigning among both blacks and whites, and hopes to end up with about 40 percent of the vote—and victory. "Simple arithmetic gives the race to Mr. Pinkney on this basis," said one political observer last week. "But Cleveland politics is strange and anything still can happen."

LBJ on LBJ

Perspectives of the Presidency

Lyndon Baines Johnson, The Vantage Point: Perspectives of the Presidency 1963-1969. Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 526 pages. \$11.

By James MacGregor Burns

THIS is Lyndon Johnson's book. He makes no pretense to objectivity—this is the presidency as he saw it during the turbulent sixties. It is the memoir one hoped he would write—candid, intensely personal, sometimes passionate. While he seems to hold himself on a short tether, with praise for many and blame for few, both the exultation and the bitterness break to the surface as he portrays the triumphs and frustrations of his five years in the White House.

As a personal document it is also a tribute to Lady Bird, who on this showing (and others) emerges as the most effective and important First Lady in this century, save Eleanor Roosevelt. Anyone who doubts her influence on her husband need only consult, on Page 93, the remarkable memorandum she gave him in May, 1964, on the question of whether he should run for a full term. Her conclusion: "Stay in."

She warned him that the going would be rough. But that he must pace himself, that after another term he would still be only a "mellow 60," and if he lost in November "it's all settled anyway"—and pretty soon they would have grandchildren.

Doubtless Mr. Johnson would have run in any event since he was absolutely committed to a big domestic program. Perhaps the most eloquent two pages in the book are not in the words of Lyndon Johnson but a list, in the front end pages, of the "landmark" legislative achievements of his presidency. "I remember all 307 of those laws," the former President now writes. "And the work and the worry that went into them... They were the tools with which we cleared up the old agenda and began work on the agenda of the future..."

Vietnam the Tragedy

If these constituted the triumph of his administration, Vietnam certainly was the tragedy. Mr. Johnson does not slight this part of the story; it runs like a dark stain all through the book. He describes day by day, sometimes hour by hour, the stupendous pressures that mounted on him as the nation became more and more fixed in the quagmire. Much of this he reports with an air of incredulity and of indignation—incredulity that Hanoi could continue to reject his peace offers with such implacable hostility (in an appendix he lists 72 peace initiatives that he accuses Hanoi of rejecting), and indignation that American doves could follow a "double standard" in assessing U.S. and Communist behavior. That double standard, the former President argues, decisively impaired the possibility of real negotiation and thus lengthened the war.

Like other controversial Presidents, Mr. Johnson says that he is willing to await the verdict of history. How will historians of the future rate this leader? They will, I think, pursue the different lines of the strategy of Johnson's domestic reformer and Johnson's maker of foreign and defense policy.

The first Johnson was the brilliant legislative leader fighting at the head of his troops. "A President cannot ask the Congress to take a risk he will not take himself," Mr. Johnson says in his book. "I must be the combat general in the front lines, constantly exposing my flanks." He gave the fight for his domestic program everything he had, he says, in prestige and power. On the civil rights bill especially he decided to "shove in all my stack," despite the advice of some of his advisers and staff members. During the middle years of his presidency he found that to exert leadership did not mean using up the resources of leadership; on the contrary, he went on from victory to victory, shoving in all his stack each time.

Decisive '64 Victory

The basis of this success lay in the majority that Mr. Johnson planned to mobilize in 1964, and in the power that was his after the majority had been mobilized and a decisive victory scored over Barry Goldwater. While the President courted and played with politicians all across the political spectrum, and while he paid obedience to "bipartisan politics," in fact he depended on a broad coalition of liberals and laborites bunched toward the left end of the continuum. Like Jefferson and other strong Presidents, he was essentially a partisan, appealing to a huge constituency of the poor, labor, Negroes, and others who needed his leadership and his help.

The second Johnson was the bipartisan mobilizer of consensus. One of the troubles with the politics of consensus is that the idea is not very clear. Does it mean trying to represent all the people, or both parties, or all the major groups, or the combined congressional and executive leadership in Washington? Does it mean one cannot act without clearing policy with all the major leaders, in both parties? Or is it essentially symbolic—a kind of



rallying cry for patriots or a comfortable banner for those who hate the divisiveness of democratic politics?

Mr. Johnson feels that his approach to consensus was misunderstood. It was not, he said, a search for the lowest common denominator, for that almost invariably would lead to inaction. Rather consensus meant deciding what needed to be done, "regardless of political implications," and then convincing a majority of Congress and the American people of the necessity for doing what needed to be done.

Now that is a definition of leadership, not consensus. In fact, the President followed that policy in domestic policy-making, but not in foreign, especially in Vietnam. As foreign policymaker he made a fetish of clearing decisions with Everett Dirksen and a wide range of congressional leadership. In his Vietnam policy particularly he followed a kind of lowest common denominator. He pursued a middle way between doves and hawks, between those demanding escalation and those endlessly calling for bombing halts and negotiations. The middle way failed to work against the set strategy of Hanoi.

And most ironic of all, the consensus strategy of this President who wanted to represent all the people left the nation more divided than it had been since the days of Bryan or perhaps even Lincoln.

One trouble with the strategy of bipartisan consensus is that it can inhibit policy rather than widen options. The most poignant aspect of this book is its

portrait of a desperate, well-meaning man trying tactical method, every channel of communication, every kind of minor concession, to win Hanoi's agreement to some kind of negotiations. The President never seemed to recognize that it was just as impossible for the North Vietnamese to give up the struggle in South Vietnam as it was for the Americans to quit the struggle and go home. Hanoi had a public opinion problem too; after countless years of battle and bloodshed, the Communists could not give up their effort to take over South Vietnam through invasion or subversion.

Mr. Johnson perceived quite rightly that any kind of coalition government that Hanoi would accept was bound to deliver the South Vietnamese into its hands sooner or later. But the President did not seem to feel that he had the latitude to try in his domestic policy the kind of imaginative and daring alternatives that he had employed so successfully on the domestic front. Some observers, for example, had been urging for years that the United States foster a repatriation of South Vietnamese, yielding the Communists northern, upland and inland sectors, so that Hanoi might conclude that it could give up the struggle and still claim victory. There is no indication in this volume that the President tried this or other possible alternatives.

Rather he was stuck with the policies of repeated bombing pauses, efforts to get negotiations started, and other tactical plays

that—we know now, and many knew at the time—never had a chance of succeeding.

It is largely because of Vietnam, I think, that the President concludes his book with the query as to whether he got too far out ahead of his troops, tried to move too far and too fast, gave the American people insufficient breathing spells. He even comes out for a six-year, nonrepeatable term for Presidents, as though he had concluded that a President of all the people could do best if he did not have to win the endorsement of a majority of the people. He believes that he would have won re-election if he had stood again in 1968—but concludes that he would have lacked the kind of broad support necessary for an effective presidency.

Memories of Truman

One thinks of Harry Truman, who did not let his minority status and powerful enemies stop him from undertaking audacious programs abroad and civil rights efforts at home. Perhaps the chief lesson of Lyndon Johnson's book for Democrats in the 1970s is that the next Democratic President should take a partisan stance in both his domestic and foreign policies. Bipartisanship is essentially another form of gradualism and easily leads to analysis of politics and policy. The tactics of consensus sometimes help gain support for policies, but it should not be followed as an end in itself.

Still, there is much more in the book than the agony of Vietnam and the dilemmas of democratic politics. A picture emerges of a dedicated, compassionate and committed President—a portrait that I think will long survive the distortions of the last decade. It is the art of making possible what seems impossible in domestic affairs and in foreign affairs accomplishments the President embodied that notion. The second is his reflection on returning home for good to a beloved hill country, that he could hardly believe that he had shared the power and splendor of the presidency. "But on this night I knew I had been there. And knew also that I had given it everything that was in me." And he had.

Mr. Burns is professor of Political Science at Williams College and author of "Roosevelt: The Soldier of Freedom." He wrote a review for The Washington Post.

An Interview With Yahya Khan

(Continued from Page 1)

Yet another proof of the madness it would be for us to initiate anything. If they can lob over 3,000 shells in a day, that means they have plenty of ammo on hand. It's a luxury our army cannot afford.

Ports Blocked

Q—In the event of war, how long could you hold on to East Pakistan with overstretched supply lines surrounded on all sides by the Indian Army and with your ports blockaded by the Indian Navy?

A—It won't be easy, of course. Luckily the terrain in the east is in favor of defending forces. It won't be a walkover. I assure you. But in case of a big war our strength is here in the west.

Q—If war broke out how do you assess the chances of Chinese or Soviet intervention?

A—I don't know about the Soviets. But that defense pact they have with India must mean something. Hopefully they'll use it to make the Indians see sense. As for the Chinese, they will not tolerate an attack on Pakistan. We will get all the weapons and ammunition we need, short of physical intervention. If the Russians and Chinese came in we would be in a world war situation and no one can conceive of that.

Q—Have you been assured of Chinese military supplies in case of war?

A—Definitely.

Q—Do you have any problems obtaining spare parts for the 100 MIG-19s Peking gave you?

A—None at all. We get some things free and pay for others. But Chinese terms are so easy. 25-year credit, interest-free. Last year when I was in Peking I negotiated \$200 million worth of economic aid for our five-year plan. No interest.

Q—Do you feel that China's presence in the United Nations Security Council will have an impact on the Indo-Pakistani crisis?

A—Certainly. It will restore some balance not only to our problem but to the world in general.

Q—Some prominent Indians believe it would be possible to

"liberate" East Bengal—and to hand over power to the elected representatives there—within a fortnight. If that were tried and achieved by India, what could you really do about it?

A—That would be a case of a foreign country forcibly occupying a country that doesn't belong to them. The world could not accept that. I know for a fact East Pakistanis would not put up with it. The men India installed in power would be regarded as quislings. Muslims are not about to accept Hindu rule again.

Q—Speaking privately, some important Pakistanis say that, long range, East Pakistan will become a terrible cross to bear. The size of Louisiana, your eastern wing will put America's entire population in 30 years. And these Pakistanis argue that you would be much better off if you allowed the eastern province to opt for independence. What do you think?

A—That is the advice of despair. Don't forget East Pakistanis spearheaded the movement for a single Pakistani state. They wanted to free themselves from Hindu domination. No one ever treated the Bengalis fairly. We too have made many mistakes, and by we I also mean East Pakistanis who have been our presidents and premiers since independence. East Pakistan was down and out and we did not pay sufficient attention to their development. We are now trying to make up for lost time.

How Many Refugees?

Q—How do you explain that 20,000 to 30,000 refugees from East Pakistan are still crossing into India daily?

A—They are not. That's an absolute lie. With all the shelling the Indians are doing, border villages are naturally running for cover all the time. Our borders are not like the Great Wall of China. They are unmarked. So the Indians take foreigners somewhere and say this is the border. For all they know, they might be 15 miles inside India. The only way to settle this is to let international observers come in on both sides and see what's going on. But India won't accept because of what she's doing.

Q—How can nine million peo-

ple flee their country in a few months?

A—I cannot accept that figure. Two to three million more likely. It may even be a million after impartial observers are through counting. Whatever the figure, I will accept anyone who left after March as a Pakistani national and take him back. This can only be controlled by the United Nations. India still has not resettled most of the refugees who were part of the mass exodus at the time of partition (1947). Look at cutia. There are still six million people sleeping in streets every night.

Nationalism Cries

Q—What do you happen if you release Mujibur Rahman and let him return to Bangladesh with a solemn pledge beyond internal and external army orders?

A—Many people believe he but I think he will be killed by the army. He went back in 1970. He was responsible for all the trouble. He had 20 years of internal autonomy, 30 years of external autonomy, and he rebelled against the state at subverted six battalions of army as well as the police and the East Pakistan Rifles, about 60,000 armed men assisted by Indian agents. They tried to fight an all-out war of secession. There was no alternative but to suppress the rebellion. Any other government would have done the same thing. How can I now or that man back and negotiate with him. He is charged with waging war against the state and subverting the loyalty of the army. He is being defended by Mr. Bhui, who is the lawyer of the most respected lawyer in the country. He would not have taken on the case if he thought there was going to be any hanky panky in the military court. I did not shoot him first and try him later as some governments are prone to do. What we do after sentence has been passed is the prerogative of the head of state. I cannot release him on a whim. It's one hell of a responsibility. But if the nation demands his release, I will do it.

هكذا ان النحل

By Carl Gewirtz

Aug. 15 concern about the impact of its actions on the balance-of-payments deficit, has been able to turn from fighting inflation and capital outflows to getting the economy moving again.

And in West Germany, Britain, France and Italy, officials are worried that business spending is growing less rapidly than last year and unemployment is up.

Thus, on both sides of the Atlantic official policy now is aimed at driving interest rates lower in order to encourage more borrowing and therefore spending in classic anti-recessionary tactics.

For investors, this means that there is little, if any, more play left in making money out of currency fluctuations. The only way to make money in the near-term outlook for stock prices is not good—leading indexes in New York, Amsterdam, Brussels, Frankfurt, Milan and - Paris (London is the one exception) are hovering around their lows for the year. And it means that

With this scenario, 8 1/4 percent a year from Esso looks pretty good—as good, in fact, that some bankers question whether the long-term coupon might not be cut to 8 percent before the final terms are set on Nov. 9. They note, for example, that the Esso 8 percent bonds issued earlier this year, are trading now at 101.

Although so heavy a calendar of new issues as last week's could be expected to evoke cries of overflooding, there have been no such complaints. Instead, the Esso issue has enhanced the de-

WEEKLY COMPARISONS

	Latest Week	Prior Week	1976
	Oct. 24	Oct. 17	Oct. 23
Commodity Index.....	106.5	106.4	105.0
*Currency in circ.....	\$59,249,000	\$59,249,000	\$55,015,000
*Total loans.....	\$85,223,000	\$85,490,000	\$82,837,000
Steel prod (tons).....	1,886,000	1,843,000	2,297,000
Auto production.....	157,843	185,855	90,174
Daily oil prod (bbbls).....	3,207,000	3,220,000	10,028,000
Freight car loadings.....	445,504	451,222	556,831
*Elec Prod. kw-hr.....	26,632,000	23,168,000	27,454,000
Business failures.....	219	123	213

Statistics for commercial-agricultural loans, carloadings, steel, oil, electric power and business failures are for the preceding week and latest available.

	August	Prior Month	1976
Employed	\$6,618,000	\$6,661,000	79,894,000
Unemployed	5,661,000	5,330,000	4,222,000
	July	Prior Month	1976
Industrial production	106.0	106.9	108.3
*Personal income	\$359,100,000	\$370,100,000	\$801,900,000
*Money supply	\$227,500,000	\$225,600,000	\$210,600,000
Consumer's Price Index	121.6	121.5	135.7
Constructa contracts	151	147	116
*Mfrs. inventories	\$100,358,000	\$100,536,000	\$98,508,000
*Exports	\$4,494,500	\$3,660,500	\$3,684,000
*Imports	\$7,798,600	\$4,025,200	\$3,247,000

*1989 omitted. †Figures subject to revision by source.
Commodity Index, based on 1957-59=100 and the Consumer Price Index, based on 1957-100, are compiled by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Industrial production is Federal Reserve Board's adjusted index of 1957-59=100. Imports and exports as well as employment are compiled by the Bureau of Census of the Department of Commerce. Money supply is total currency in circulation plus deposits held by banks and other depository outside banks and demand deposits adjusted for currency held by Federal Reserve Board. Bank deposits are reported by the Federal Reserve Board. International contracts are compiled by the F. W. Orlow, Division of McGraw-Hill Information Systems Company.

mand for the others—most of which are expected to pay a 3/4 percent interest—because "this may be the last time you see long-term rates over 8 percent for a long time," says one banker. The week's other new issues include a \$55 million offering from Quebec Hydroelectric, expected to net a 1 1/2 percent, and a \$15 million debenture with warrants expected at 7 3/4 percent. The latter two from Jardine Matheson & Co. Ltd., a Hong Kong-based trading firm which is also active in real estate development. The warrants will enable bondholders to buy about \$600 worth of Jardine stock at a

(Continued on Page 3, Col. 5)

By Thomas E. Mullaney

NEW YORK, Oct. 31 (NYT).—With business and labor both skeptical about the success of the Nixon economic-stabilization program, the stock market continued to display a deeply bearish mood last week as it sank to within an eyelash of its low point for the year.

After 11 consecutive sessions of generally declining prices, however, the market staged a mild technical rebound in the week's two closing sessions that was not at all convincing to Wall Street's pessimists.

There was nothing particularly uplifting in the political or economic spheres to resuscitate the low spirits of investors. The only consoling factor was the absence of heavy selling pressure as stock prices worked steadily lower. Institutional and public investors were prone to extreme caution while awaiting clarification of the mammoth uncertainties in both the domestic and international economic areas.

It was clear that the same deep-seated pessimism that existed last summer before President Nixon unveiled Phase I of his new economic program has returned in full force just before the start of Phase 2.

The investment community seems to be expressing its fear that the economic problems at home and abroad will not be resolved in the foreseeable future through policies being pursued in Washington.

Some analysts and economists feel, however, that Wall Street is overdrawing the gloom, particularly with respect to prospects for the domestic economy. But the

queasiness about international trade and monetary problems seems more justified in view of the adamant positions being taken by the United States and its trading partners on currency changes and trade liberalization.

At home, the major worry is the wage-price decisions that will emanate from the administration's newly-appointed review panels and the impact they will have on corporate profitability.

There is a gnawing fear that the new economic program might turn out to be a colossal failure, with inflation unchecked, unemployment unabated, consumer and business confidence eroded and the economic recovery stunted.

It was hardly surprising that the stock market sagged as it has the last four weeks. After the euphoric response to the first part of the administration's program

Amex and Over-Counter

By Alexander R. Hammer

NEW YORK, Oct. 31 (NYT).—Prices of most issues traded on the American Stock Exchange and Over-the-Counter markets continued to decline last week in slow trading.

One broker termed both markets as "vastly oversold" but said that unless the general public and foreign buyers increase their participation "stock prices could decline much more."

The exchange's price index finished on Friday at 24.61, down 0.34 from the close of the preceding week.

Turnover dropped to 15,298,980 shares from 17,481,360 shares the week before.

The most actively traded issue on the Amex was Champion Home Builders, which fell 2 1/8 to 37 3/8. The company, which is in the mobile home building field, lost ground following news on Tuesday that General Motors was considering entering the field.

The Over-the-Counter market's NASDAQ industrial index closes on Friday at 105.09, down 2.07 points from the preceding week. Most of the home building issues in the counter market were depressed following a bearish article in Barron's magazine on the industry's prospects. Hallcraft Homes, Oriole Land and Horizon Corp. each fell 2 points.

Most of the bank issues ended lower in quiet trading. First Security Corp. of Salt Lake City fell 1 1/2 while Citizens & Southern of Georgia and the National City Bank of Cleveland each dipped a point.

Insurance stocks finished mixed on moderate trading. Kemper Corp. tumbled 4; Chubb Corp. lost a point; Safeco Corp. added a point after reporting higher profits for the first nine months, and Crum & Foster added 1/2 point.

—the 90-day wage-price freeze instituted on Aug. 15—the stock market plunged more than 8 percent in terms of the barometric Dow-Jones industrial stock aver-

age. Last week's decline amounted to 13.37 points, carrying the Dow down close to the year's low of 830.57 that was set at the beginning of 1971. The index now stands at 839.

All other market averages also declined last week. The Standard & Poor's 500-stock index retreated 1.28 to 94.23, and the New York Stock Exchange composite was off 0.75 to 52.07.

A total of 1,212 issues lost ground and 488 advanced. Trading contracted to 81.4 million shares from 69.3 million the week before.

Except in some individual cases, the market paid no particular attention to the notable improvement in third-quarter corporate earnings reports; to indications that the First National City Bank of New York would reduce its floating prime rate to 5 5/8 percent from the recently adopted 5 3/4 percent level, or to the first U.S. foreign trade surplus (\$265.4 million) in six months.

The adverse earnings performance reported last week by the leading steel producers failed to offset the overall advance in earnings. The stellar results of the booming auto manufacturers more than offset the depressed steel figures.

A tabulation showed a solid 12 percent increase in aggregate profits for the third quarter by 1,256 companies in a cross section

(Continued on Page 9, Col. 3)

High Low Last C

[illegible]

Bonds	Sales In \$1,000 High Low Last C
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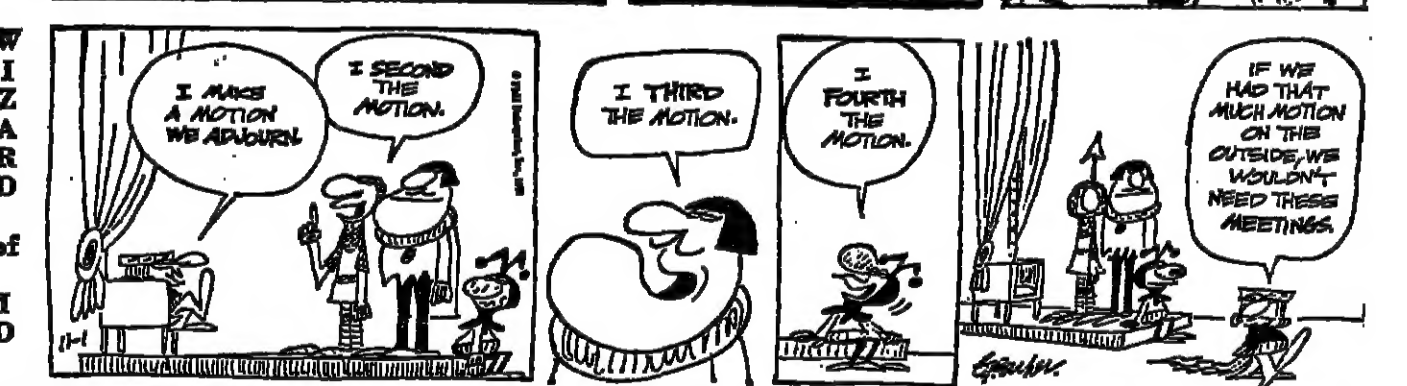
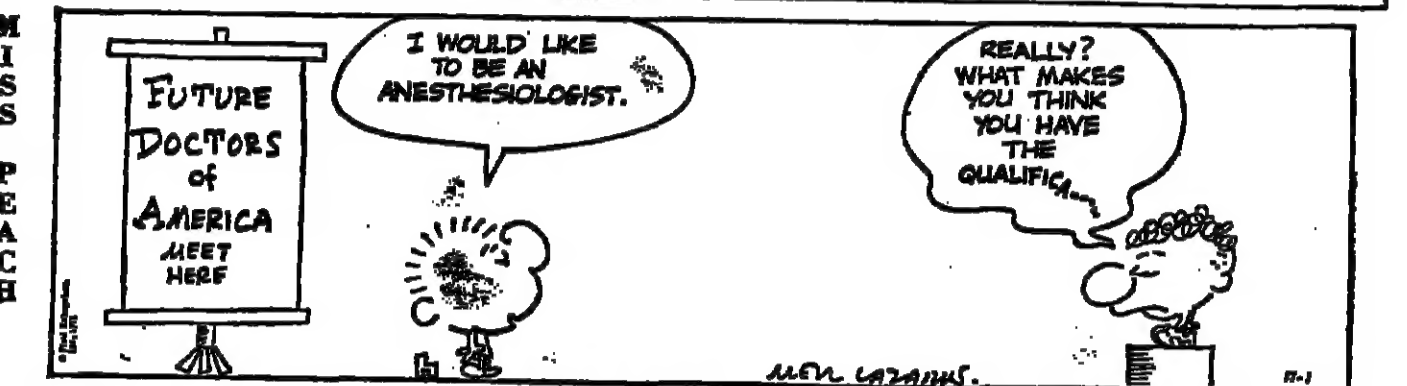
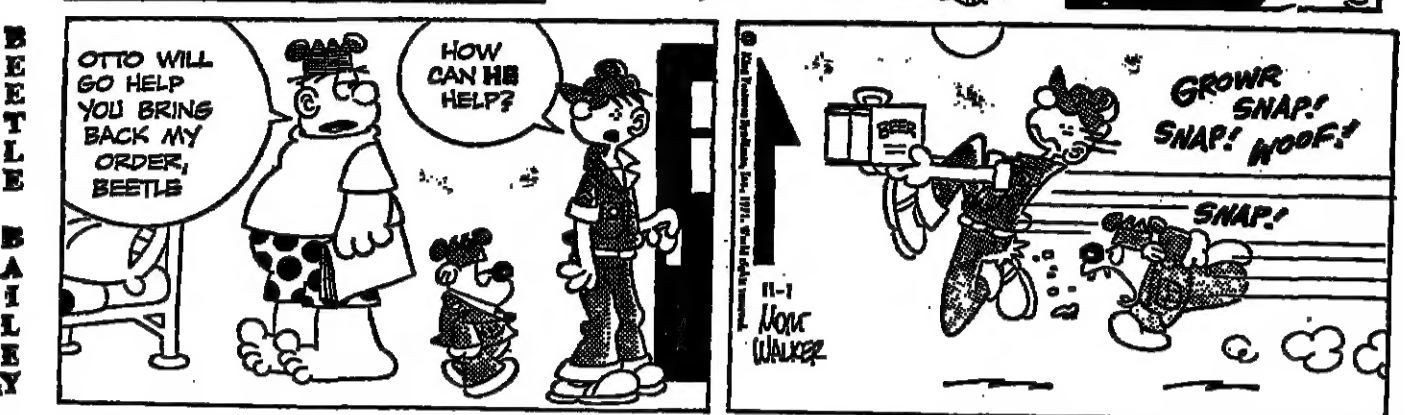
Zurlindenstrasse 59
Telephone: 35-06-00



100

F. S. Smithers & Co., Inc.
3/4 Tokenhouse Buildings, King's Arms Yard
London, EC2R 7AD, England
New York / Chicago / Dallas / San Francisco

AAA	474579	12	160	152	160
PAA	474584	131	93	828	7626
AAA	474591	131	93	828	7626
PAA	474596	131	93	828	7626
PAA	474604	131	93	828	7626
PAA	474611	131	93	828	7626
PAA	474618	131	93	828	7626
PAA	474625	131	93	828	7626
PAA	474632	131	93	828	7626
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PAA	474751	131	93	828	7626
PAA	474758	131	93	828	7626
PAA	474765	131	93	828	7626
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PAA	475087	131	93	828	7626
PAA	475094	131	93	828	7626
PAA	475101	131	93	828	



BLONDIE



BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

The world champion Aces scored an overwhelming victory in the international team final playoff match in New Orleans this week, and so qualified to represent the United States in the 1972 world team Olympiad in Miami Beach. The players are Bob Goldman, Bob Hamman, Jim Jacoby, Mike Lawrence and Bob Wolff. Their non-playing captain will be Lee Eisen of New York. The disgraced deal contributed to the Aces' 171 point victory margin.

In the open room, as shown, Jacoby opened the West hand with two clubs, a normal opening bid with a long club suit. Over a take-out double by North, Wolff raised to game. However South judged that his side must have a good fit in the major suits and gambled on slam. He cue-bid in clubs, followed with an SOS redouble in the hope that his partner would pick a major, and finally bid six spades when his partner did not do so. West doubled, not so much for the extra points, but to discourage East from sacrificing in seven clubs.

West's opening lead of the heart two solved South's problem in that suit. He ran the lead around to his queen, cashed the diamond ace and led a trump. Since West held the ace-king, the contract went down one. In the replay, the opening bid was one club and again East raised to five clubs over a take-out double from North. But Hamman as South was content to bid five spades at this point, stopping at a makeable level. West began with the spade king, which was safe enough, but

shifted to the heart two, helping the declarer, who proceeded to make 11 tricks without difficulty. The Aces gained 13 international match points on the deal.

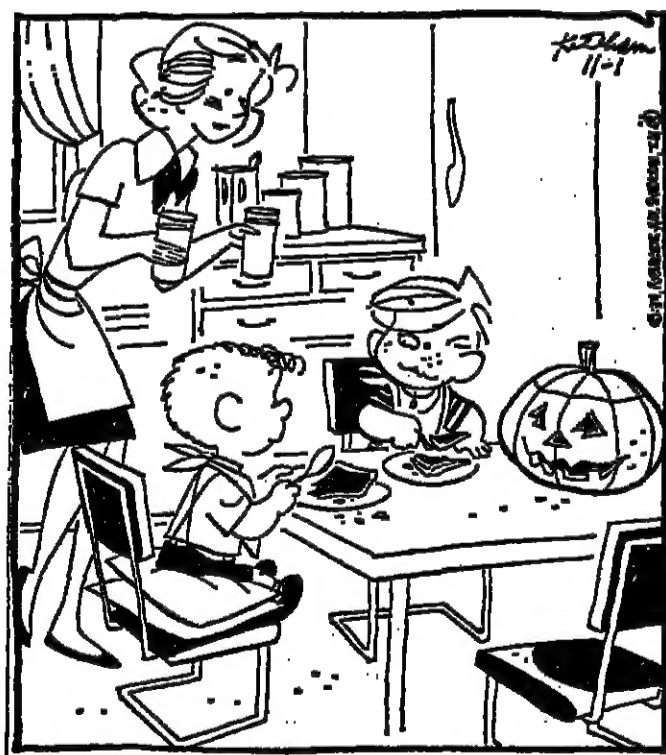
Today's Hand

NORTH
 ♠ Q553
 ♥ AJS
 ♦ KJ84
 ♣ A3
 WEST (D)
 ♠ AK
 ♥ K982
 ♦ S
 ♣ KJ9862
 EAST
 ♠ —
 ♥ Q10
 ♦ QJ76532
 ♣ Q10754
 SOUTH
 ♠ J1097642
 ♥ Q8743
 ♦ —
 ♣ —
 Both sides were vulnerable.
 The bidding:
 West North East South
 2 ♣ Dbl 5 ♣ 6 ♣
 Dbl. Pass Pass Redbl.
 Pass 6 ♦ Pass 6 ♣
 Dbl. Pass Pass Pass
 West led the heart two.

Solution to Friday's Puzzle

WITCHERY CRAFT
 ANITA MAE OUTRE
 GRASSY AREA EERIE
 OVER HONORED MAN
 NOIR MAINS PARIS
 ERUDITE DEITIES
 HEADS YIPPEE
 SPIRITS SCHOOLS
 EYRE PEEN
 ARTS GRATEL SAICS
 BEA HOBLEED MAIT
 BANISH IAL UOIME
 ACTION ATE NATI
 SHEET MED BROUM

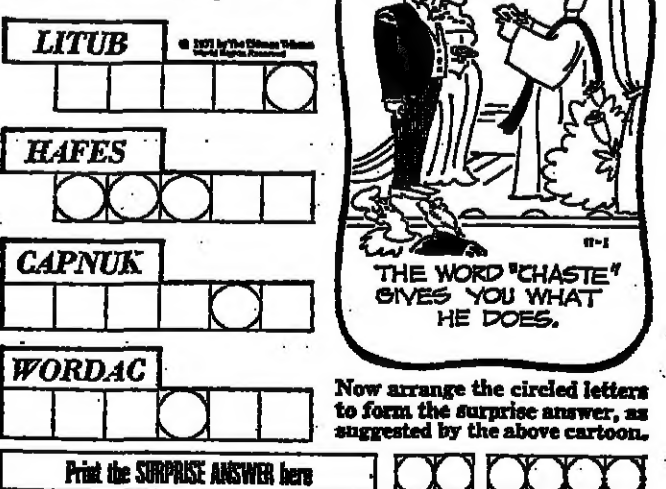
DENNIS THE MENACE



"SEE, JOEY? YOU DON'T HAVTA BE SCARED OF ANYBODY WHO TASTES THIS GOOD!"

JUMBLE

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.



Now arrange the circled letters to form the surprise answer, as suggested by the above cartoon.

Print the SURPRISE ANSWER here

(Answers tomorrow)

Saturday's Jumbles: WRATH CRAZY ASTHMA DOUBLE

Answers: Changes in laws might be boring things—AWLS

BOOKS

MISS THISTLEBOTTOM'S HOBGOBLIN:
The Careful Writer's Guide to Taboos, Bugs, and Outmoded Rules of English Usage
 By Theodore M. Bernstein. Farrar, Straus & Giroux. \$6.95.

Reviewed by Ethel Strainchamps

ALL you editors and careful writers can now stop worrying about: "cannot help but," "can't seem," "contact," "fey," "hectic," "decimate," "meantime," "nubly," "statistic," "over," "refer back," "momentarily," and "in signa." Theodore Bernstein has pronounced them okay. Don't imagine, however, that you can go hogwild; Mr. Bernstein makes it clear in the prologue to his new book that he rejects the role of permissivist. Thus it behooves the cautious to read with care his modified opinions on "anymore," "balance as a hit," "each other," "different than" and "way," for example. On the other hand, if you don't know what it is about these locations that makes them topics for discussion, count yourself lucky and forget you saw them here.

Most editors regard Fowler's "Modern English Usage" and Bernstein's "The Careful Writer" as indispensable desk companions. Even though their flout the dicta inside the covers as often as not. It is only when they run into a sentence that mysteriously fails to track, or a word or phrase that some forgotten English teacher once explicated deprecated that they reach for an authoritative handbook. Even then they may choose to disregard the expert's opinion; but if what the counselor reads is interesting and to the point, he will feel that he has gotten his money's worth. The source of his vague malaise has been identified.

Mr. Bernstein writes interestingly (and amiably), and, as assistant managing editor of The New York Times for many years, he certainly has dealt with every usage problem that anybody with a head as big as his school diploma is likely to run up against. Also, he seems to be singularly free of your usual prescriptive grammarian's clichés (or crochets as The New York Times has printed that word—though not, I assume, in any copy that ever fell under Mr. Bernstein's pencil).

He confesses, in fact, to having become less didactic about linguistic propriety through the years. Whereas "the natural trend in human development" is from liberal or radical to conservative, he points out, the serious student of language tends toward rigidity when he first discovers the marvels of its structure. "But," he adds, "as those who are closely involved with language examine it more thoroughly and observe what usage does to slowly renovate it, they tend to give the rules a second look, their attitude becomes less frozen."

So don't worry about that split infinitive. Mr. Bernstein okay's it. On this, as on several other old taboos—"above" (for foregoing), "to loan," "in back of," "normalcy," "data" as a singular, "none" as plural—Mr. Bernstein has caught up with the Second Edition of Webster's Unabridged, which was published almost 40 years ago. In fact, that venerable tome (1934) remains ahead of the 1971 Bernstein in acknowledging the haphazardness of several other toothless old bugbears, including "disinterested" (for uninterested), "comprise" (for constitute), "comity" (for immensity) and "golden."

Ethel Strainchamps is a
 freelance writer and editor.
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Best Sellers

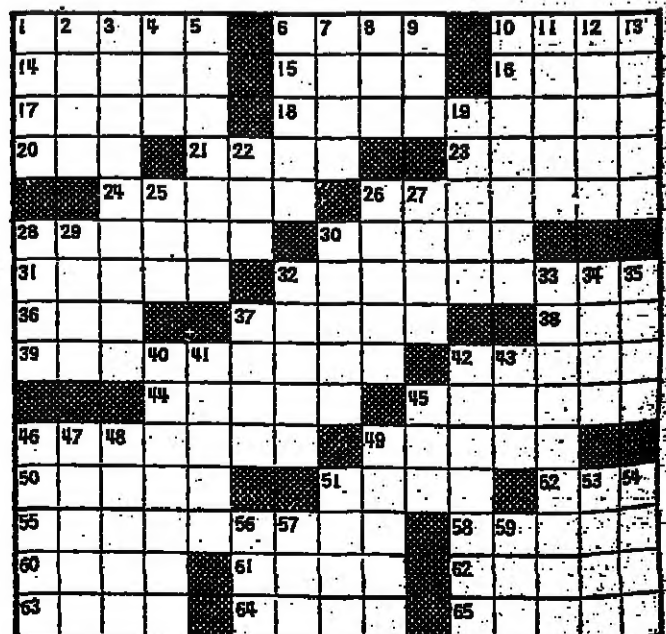
The New York Times
 This analysis is based on the
 obtained from more than 125
 stores in 84 U.S. cities. The
 in the right-hand column do
 necessarily represent complete
 on the list.

This Week	Last Week	Weeks on List
1 The Day of the Jackal, Michael Crichton	2	1
2 The Day of the Jackal, Michael Crichton	1	1
3 The Day of the Jackal, Michael Crichton	3	1
4 The Day of the Jackal, Michael Crichton	4	1
5 The Day of the Jackal, Michael Crichton	5	1
6 The Day of the Jackal, Michael Crichton	6	1
7 The Day of the Jackal, Michael Crichton	7	1
8 The Day of the Jackal, Michael Crichton	8	1
9 The Day of the Jackal, Michael Crichton	9	1
10 The Day of the Jackal, Michael Crichton	10	1

CROSSWORD

By Will W.

ACROSS	DOWN
1 Removes	46 Diamondback
6 Soot particle	49 Arterial trunk
10 Gush forth	50 Muse
14 Zola	51 Sea eagle
15 Monkey of S. A.	52 Buddy
16 Fairy	53 Kind of party
17 Gem	58 Mineral found
18 Political	59 In lake beds
20 Family member	60 April, for one
21 Season	61 Doctor's unit
22 Palmers	62 Baby's complaint
24 Hogwash	63 Famous Loch
26 Kind of reaction	64 Tools
28 Current	65 Like Rome
30 Transit for	
31 "A" in Tel Aviv	1 Coming-out gals
32 Put in the	2 Sacred mountain
33 In the	3 Variety
34 Miss Hogg	4 Spiders' parlor
37 All in	5 Egoistic
38 Pub drink	6 Upright slab
39 Political	7 Tenth of a cent
40 moments of	8 U. S. Indian
42 Bearded	9 Spasm
43 monkeys	10 Garden shrub
44 Blind	11 Garden flower
45 Lightning flash	12 Fyle
	13 Smartened, with "up"



April 1, 1971
